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CHRISTMAS is truly in the air when President Harding, the Pope, and Anatole France join hands to urge relief for the Volga famine sufferers. Communist, Catholic, and Protestant President have not actually signed a joint appeal—though such extremes come near to meeting in the famine campaign in New York—yet in one week we read that Anatole France has given the 400,000 francs of his Nobel Prize to Russian relief, that the Pope has given $160,000 and plans to give more through Mr. Nansen, and that the President of the United States urges the Congress to appropriate money to buy 10,000,000 bushels of seed-corn and a million bushels of wheat for the same purpose. The blockade of human sympathy is lifting. We can only urge our readers to be as generous within their means, and give them three addresses: American Federated Russian Famine Committee (distributing through Soviet Russian Red Cross), 110 West 40th Street; Russian Famine Fund (collecting for distribution by the Quakers), 15 Park Row; and American (Hoover) Relief Administration, 42 Broadway, all New York City. Choose which you will—but give!

THE Canadian elections resulted in a sweeping defeat for conservatism rather than in a victory for liberalism. The differences between the Liberals and Conservatives are not very much more important than those between the Republican and Democratic parties in the United States; but at least the Liberal landslide may result in tariff reductions and in a more friendly policy toward the United States—which American protectionists do little enough to encourage. The interesting feature of the election was the geographical cleavage shown in the result. The Liberals swept the East, winning all of Quebec's 65 seats, while the Progressives, representing the organized farmers, made tremendous gains in Manitoba, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and in Ontario as well, establishing themselves as the chief opposition party. The present Government party, the Conservative, fell to third place, nine of their ministers failing of reelection. What will come of the new alignment it is hard to say. W. L. Mackenzie King will have, to be sure, a divided opposition, but his support will be local rather than national, and he will have to breast a heavy tide of dissatisfaction from the West.

IN India the British Government seems definitely to have abandoned its comparative tolerance of the non-cooperation movement in favor of rigorous suppression. Lajpat Rai has been arrested. Motilal Mehru, ex-president of the Indian National Congress, has been sentenced to six months' imprisonment. Mr. Tandon, chairman of the municipal board of Allahabad, has been sentenced for eighteen months. These are only the more famous of the non-cooperators who have been sent to prison. The wife, son, and sister of Mr. C. R. Das—the president-elect of the forthcoming session of the Indian National Congress, which appears to have been proscribed—were arrested with more than fifty others for selling homespun cloth from house to house. It was alleged that under cover of these sales they were advocating a *hartal* (general strike) for the day the Prince of Wales visits Calcutta. More than 260 picketers were arrested in Calcutta for advocating a boycott of that visit. With these wholesale arrests and sentences has gone no charge that the victims advocated violence. The English are taking strange methods to secure the peace of India or an enthusiastic welcome to the Prince of Wales, and he at least ought to be a good enough sport to know it. To imprison men for peaceful non-cooperation is to invite violence. Perhaps the British raj thinks it would be easier to deal with that than with Gandhi's tactics.

"WHO was the last President of Haiti who took office by force of arms?" Senator Jones asked Georges Sylvain of the Haitian Patriotic Union at the opening hearing of the Senatorial Commission at Port au Prince. "The present President," M. Sylvain replied; "he holds office by virtue of the armed forces of the United States." Whereat the subject was abruptly changed. But the incident is typical of the spirit in which the Senators began their task. Senator Jones, to be sure, was new to the job, replacing the late Senator Knox; but even Chairman McCormick appears to have had no adequate conception of the seriousness of the situation in Haiti. Martial law still prevails in Haiti; witnesses testifying to the abuses of the military authorities received no guaranties of protection—instead Senator McCormick's proclamation gratuitously warned

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against perjury. Yet despite the reign of terrorism, witnesses did come forward and testified to torture, illegal imprisonment, and burning of villages, mentioning names of officers and dates and places. The worst abuses are, of course, old; conditions, at least as regards atrocities, have improved in Haiti in recent years; but the more important question is, Will Haiti be freed, not merely from individual brutes such as always appear in any military force given unbridled control, but from the persistent deadening burden of alien military rule? Have the Senators realized what that means, both to the soul of Haiti and to the soul of America? There is one good sign in Washington: the reappointment of William E. Pulliam as Receiver General of Dominican Customs. He organized that service under the treaty of 1907 and maintained it at a high standard until the period of "deserving Democrats." But what is needed is more than good men; it is a return to legality, to recognition and practice of Haitian and Dominican sovereignty.

GUATEMALA has had another mild little revolution. The president who succeeded Estrada Cabrera a year and a half ago has been put in prison, Cabrera has been released, and his congress, dissolved after the last revolution, has been recalled to receive the resignation of the president who recalled it, while Herrera's congress is dissolved and all its acts declared null and void. These revolutions are ordinarily hardly more upsetting than a lynching in Georgia or a riot in Chicago, but the present revolution has disquieting aspects. This Cabrera was an old-fashioned dictator, and our Government has wasted much effort to obtain his release; the Washington report that the State Department was not surprised at the revolution is almost suspicious. The London *Economist* is convinced, after study of the complicated finances of the Central American republics, that the recent federation of Guatemala, Salvador, and Honduras was an attempt to escape over-penetration and control by American financiers; Herrera was strongly pro-federation and Cabrera is said to be opposed—which again is suspicious. And we should be grieved if the new constitution of the Central American Federation had no chance to be tried out. Its electoral prescriptions have the spice of novelty. Voting is compulsory for men, optional for women; men vote when 21, or when 18 if married and able to read and write, but not if they are in the army; married women vote at 21, spinsters who can read and write, and have independent means, at 25. It would be a pity to have such a law go by the boards because of a mere revolution.

WHAT is wrong with the agricultural bloc? One would think from the tone of newspaper editorials and the speeches of administration leaders that the very foundations of our government were shaken by the existence of a group of men who quite frankly put the interest of a class—the farmers—above party regularity. To our mind this is a step forward as regards both reality and honesty in politics. Special interests have always been represented at Washington, but their agents usually lobby in secret and bring pressure to bear in party caucuses rather than openly on the floor of Congress. Farmers may well have more in common as farmers than because they happen to be Republicans or Democrats. The bloc is human and probably narrow in its viewpoint, but it is leading the way toward occupational representation in legislation. It is, moreover, serving as an admirable check upon Secretary Mellon's taxation program. His recent report assumes that the only investors in the country are men with great means who, therefore, must not be taxed. The ordinary man, runs Mr. Mellon's logic, probably spends all that he can get anyhow—therefore, tax the spendthrift.

MR. Harding's proposal for a flexible tariff subject to constant alteration by the Tariff Commission doubtless foreshadows a similar scheme in connection with ship subsidies in regard to which he announces a special message in the near future. We regard his tariff plan as practically unworkable and as an interesting sign of Republican uneasiness in regard to the tariff. Mr. Thomas W. Lamont prophesied last March that the Republicans would find it difficult to pass a new tariff law. Business delegations have appeared in Washington asking for lower tariffs or none at all—something hitherto unheard of. This was notably true of the automobile-makers, who wanted no tariff at all, but who, if reports are correct, were told by Ways and Means committeemen that that would never do—they *must* have a tariff. Else what would become of the Republican Party and its chief policy? Mr. Harding hopes "a way will be found to make for flexibility and elasticity" by extending the powers of the Tariff Commission "so that it can adapt itself to a scientific and wholly just [*sic*] administration of the law." But the Tariff Commission is now one of the most useless vermiform appendices in Washington. What will happen to business if the commission receives power to alter rates at will? Will anybody dare make long-time contracts abroad? The iniquity of tariffs is not thus to be hidden nor the tariff evil to be remedied.

ON the same day it was announced that the American Institute of Chemical Engineers unanimously indorsed the use of poison gas in war as both effective and humane, and that the American Advisory Committee to the Washington Conference, of which General Pershing is chairman, urged the complete abandonment of all forms of chemical warfare. One may commend the humane instincts of the Committee and recognize that the chemists, who were not uninfluenced by the dye interests, lamentably failed to understand the service their profession could render by refusal to use science for the suicide of mankind—and yet the simple fact remains that the views of the chemists will prevail. It is no more possible to believe that if there is a next war it will be waged without poison gas than to imagine that a resolution of knights in council could have prevented the use of gunpowder. After the Armistice, according to the Associated Press, it was formally stated that the American Army would not develop gas for offensive use but would get ready to use it against any enemy which might use it first. Who can doubt that this provocation from the enemy would be as readily discovered or created as were the famous French airplanes which brought Germany into the war by bombarding Nürnberg?

IF the American Advisory Committee seriously desires to check the development of the chemical industry as well as other branches of armament-making it might well consider the plan submitted to it by Edgar Park, one of the largest manufacturers of munitions during the Great War. He proposes international control of all armament-making of every sort whatever, private manufacture to be punishable "by the maximum penalty of each government's Crimi-

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nal Code." The international committee in control of armament-making is to be made up of representatives of different nations appointed on the basis of population, and the places where arms are manufactured under its control are to be declared neutral territory. "In the event of war munitions are to be distributed by the international committee to the nations involved in proportion to their per cent of interest in the international plan." When this last point is reached the reader usually begins to laugh. But why? Is not such a program really a step toward efficiency and sanity which would be highly commended by the Martian who has heretofore been so disturbed by earth's lunacies? If international government is possible at all, why not begin at this point? We would suggest that the commission be given power to set aside Heligoland and Yap as the theaters of future wars and to select contestants whose elimination would aid the progress of the race—but we will not insist. International instead of private control of armament making would be a good beginning.

RECENT investigations bring serious charges of wastefulness and corruption against certain labor organizations and labor leaders. Deliberate inefficiency is a bad social practice but unfortunately the present serious scarcity of work may excuse labor for suspecting that the more efficient the workers are the sooner the jobs are over. Not even this partial apology can be made in some of the cases that have recently come to light. The Federal Government has indicted the president of a glass workers' union for conspiring with the manufacturers to keep up the price of glass. Among other things it is alleged that he wrote a letter offering to keep the working year for men in his own union down to twenty-three weeks. That is to say, he conspired not only against the public but against his own comrades. According to testimony before the Lockwood Committee, Inside Electrical Workers' Union No. 3 of New York is nothing in the world but a conspiracy of a comparatively few workers to hold up their fellow-workers by refusing to allow them to join the union and by charging them exorbitant sums for working permits. It should be noticed that all these unions are not composed of the much-detested "Reds," but of good, solid, conservative workmen. If labor is going to shape a decent future for itself or for mankind it must get rid of practices on a level with those of the Interborough Rapid Transit Company.

WE have so often had to criticize the daily press that it is a genuine pleasure to be able to call attention to the remarkable improvement in the Baltimore *Sun* and its adjunct the *Evening Sun*. For many years the most important journal in Maryland, the *Sun* is presenting the best news of the Washington Conference of all the newspapers that come under our observation. This is not merely due to the fact that its editors have not lost their sense of proportion, or to the excellent display and make-up of its pages, but in largest measure to the intelligence displayed in the head-lining and editing. The foreign correspondents assembled in Washington are reported to be enthusiastic in their admiration and are especially struck by the ability of the editorial page. Whether this is due wholly to its own worth or to the contrast it presents to the average dull and uninformed American editorial page, of which the Washington *Star* and *Post* are such terrible examples, is not clear. Baltimore may be proud of having such a daily.

WITH the adoption of the Sheppard-Towner Bill, after three years of strenuous lobbying and campaigning on the part of almost all the organized women of the country, a new educational system was established. Adult women in all parts of the United States will have an opportunity to receive instruction in matters of infant and prenatal care—subjects omitted from the curriculums of our schools, but more important to the actual life of the nation than any subject commonly taught. Opponents of the bill charged that the measure was "socialistic" and that it would lead straight to the dissemination of information on birth control. Unfortunately, however, they were quite wrong. Under the present laws, no birth-control information will be available through any public agency. The Sheppard-Towner bill provides for the accomplishment of only one-half the job waiting to be done. Mothers may now be able to find out how to take proper care of their children; they should have an equal opportunity to learn how scientifically to prevent the birth of children which they have not the strength to bear or the means to support. The task to which the women who have supported the Sheppard-Towner bill should now turn their energies is the harder one of securing the repeal of all laws prohibiting education in the limitation of families.

THE milk distributors in New York City tell a pretty story to explain why milk comes later now than it used to when there were union men to bring it to the door. It seems that the distributors are anxious to have the milkmen meet the families they serve, and so send them after breakfast instead of before. A charming picture, that—the milkman handing his bottle to the housewife and chatting lightly for a few moments about the children's croup, the husband's taste for apple fritters, the latest news concerning Billy Sunday, Mary Pickford, and Babe Ruth. We really regret to murmur that for years the union drivers have tried to win later hours for themselves, and have regularly been told that the public must have its milk before breakfast or not at all. These exigent scabs—we hear they have to sleep longer in the morning because of the burden of their night-school classes, where they learn the languages required by their social obligations at the thresholds!

TWO thousand seats there are in the lunch-room of the College of the City of New York, and all two thousand went unoccupied when the fifteen student waiters who work their way through college by waiting on table struck against the proposed reduction of their noonday wages from sixty to fifty cents an hour. Two obtuse students who had considered working at the lower rate changed their minds when they saw that college spirit—which, in America, is a fearsome thing without parallel even in those ranks of labor which prate most of solidarity—was against them. Manager Charles Hammond, a rank outsider, announced that he would hire girls to scab in place of the boys; it remains to be seen whether their charms will offset the unity of City College and fill the lunch-room. Meanwhile the student waiters have formed the Amalgamated Association of Student Waiters and Restaurant Workers of the College of the City of New York. Having noted the eagerness with which the leisured youth of other colleges—doubly class-conscious young men—have volunteered to help rob overalled men of their jobs and pay envelopes, we cry three cheers for the A. A. S. W. R. W. C. C. N. Y.!

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The Free State of Ireland

AN Irish Free State at last? It seems incredible, unbelievable, a myth conjured up by age-long desire. Yet there it is, a miracle if you please, but a miracle won by the steadfast devotion of a people through seven hundred years. Belittled, ridiculed, abused, often starved and always enslaved and oppressed, its leaders have dreamed their visions even as they stood on the scaffold's trap, dying with absolute faith and certainty that some day the new light would shine. So here it is, dearly enough purchased, Heaven knows, but irradiating the whole world! No single event in generations has done so much for real peace and goodwill, particularly between England and America. And with it the embattled and oppressed everywhere are quickened and uplifted. This ultimately will mean freedom for Egypt and for India. It will stiffen the resistance of the Chinese to foreign outrage and set men everywhere to realizing anew that no moral issue is settled until it is settled right; that if it takes centuries self-government *can* be achieved if those who seek it but desire it with all their hearts.

But it is not the Irish only who are to be acclaimed. To Lloyd George the congratulations must be unreserved. The old, Liberal, pre-war Lloyd George has spoken here and it is enough by itself to entitle him to immortality. Moreover, it is in the best tradition of English progress—so often honored in the breach, yet flashing always from time to time, as in the Milner report on Egypt—now, alas, marred again by those spoil-alls, the soldiers. Some will say it is the hand of the opportunist Lloyd George again, that with this success—if it goes through—he so rivets his hold upon his office that he could not resist the play. Sometimes it is worth while to have an opportunist in office—that is, it is better to have one than a rock-ribbed reactionary whose prejudices never change. More often than cynics think what is expedient is also what is right. We care not what the Prime Minister's motive. We can only note what wonderful thing he has done for England and the world and praise him without any qualification whatsoever. He must have his due and if it means a new lease of power for him it is well worth the price. While *The Nation* has never had any doubt from the beginning of the negotiations that hostilities could not be resumed again, that peace must be the result, no one could have been prepared for the patience and skill Lloyd George displayed and his strategy in handling the Ulster situation. Ulster is no longer the imperial stalking-horse and the unsocial bigotry of her Orangemen has at last been made clear for all men to behold. The religious issue now sinks into its proper place and into a true relationship to the whole. It is for Northeast Ulster to say whether she will play by herself or be a part of a nation which we believe now has within it the promise of great achievement for all mankind to profit by.

Feeling thus we cannot believe that the opposition of some who had set their hearts on a wholly independent nation will prevail. For Mr. De Valera we shall always have the profoundest respect and gratitude; in his modest intrepidity, his calmness and gentleness, his readiness at all times for prison walls if need be, we have found a true approach to the heroic. It is but right, perhaps, when he has so often declared that he stood in all sincerity not for dominion status but for a free republic, that consistency alone should make him refuse his assent; we know that no personal ambition or selfish motive could sway him. But we cannot at this writing believe that his view will prevail. One step at a time, and *this step spans the centuries!* To banish at one stroke every last abominated red-coat from Erin; to see every hated and blood-stained black-and-tan take ship for England; to have Ireland receive the right to her own army; to see her in control of her ports at last and of her trade, able to put on her own tariffs if she see fit, free at last of taxation without representation and competent by terms of the agreement to negotiate on an equality with Britain as to regulations for the control of the air—surely, this together with religious freedom for all sects, is enough of glorious revolution for one generation, enough to justify and guarantee one long breathing-spell. Then, if after decades the arrangement does not work, if necessary modifications cannot be achieved, if the demand for even greater self-expression is not to be downed, if a separate language and a separate entity call unanswerably for complete independence, it will as surely come as has by Heaven's mercy the Free State, and that, too, we believe, without so desperate a struggle.

For human dramas often move as irresistibly as Greek tragedies but not always to tragic ends. When Gladstone failed and Parnell died, it seemed as if Ireland were lost. Had not John Bright himself, one of the greatest of Liberals, defeated home rule believing neither in that nor in a Dublin Parliament? The social and financial powers that were then in London could find, as John Morley put it, no explanation for any other opinion about Ireland than their own save "moral turpitude and personal degradation"—a painful demonstration, as he wrote, "how thin after all is our social veneer even when most highly polished." What hope was there? Even Morley and Gladstone had believed, prior to the Home Rule Bill, in coercion and arbitrary force as the remedy for Ireland's disease, the Great Commoner himself actually imprisoning Parnell and many others for months and months without trial or even formal accusation. At best he advocated but a limited extension of home rule with a probably entirely unworkable Parliament and he insisted on British control of the police. No wonder that men have exclaimed until now that Ireland seemed the sport of a destiny that was aimless. But the blood of the martyrs has been the seed of a state, and David has once more triumphed over Goliath.

Gladstone was right, if inconsistent, when he declared, while he kept liberty-loving Irishmen in jail, that "it is liberty alone which fits men for liberty." Men who made their own government astonishingly effective despite the presence of armies of occupation can be trusted to work out their own destiny. The links of cooperation forged in the bitterness of oppression will hold fast in prosperity. We cannot believe that the Irish fire will die to ashes now that the Irish task is no longer to win freedom but to use it gloriously. We look to see Erin's arts flourish side by side with teeming trade in her now bare but glorious harbors. We look to see a literature all her own, with the Celtic temperament brimming over with wit and sentiment, with pathos and mirth and happiness, celebrating, in closer and closer spiritual union with England, the glory of the peace which surely to every Irish home will seem that which passeth understanding.

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A Farmers' Strike?

THE last wheat and corn crop in the United States sold far below cost of production, and there is widespread and serious suffering in the grain country as a result. The outlook for next year is no better. Thus there is no incentive for the sowing of adequate crops another season; acreage is going to be cut down.

Several remedies for this situation have been suggested. The first is the advice of the old school to let "economic law" take its course. This means a smaller crop next year and a wiping out of at least part of the big surplus of the last two seasons. But the returns on a smaller crop next year, even at the somewhat higher prices that could be expected, would not put the farmers on their feet. There will be more bankruptcy and more suffering. This means the abandonment of still more acreage in the following year and a gradual drift from the country to the cities. This drift cityward will continue until crops have become so small as to send prices skyward again.

President Harding, in his address to Congress, has come forward with a second proposal to assist the farmers. In glowing terms he advocates cooperative marketing. This is an excellent suggestion, but why it should be made to Congress it is difficult to understand, since it is the one form of farmers' assistance which farmers must accomplish primarily by themselves. The practical difficulty with cooperative marketing at the present moment, however, is that it is necessarily something of slow growth—too slow to meet the immediate need. Moreover it requires considerable capital on the part of the participating farmers, and this is just what is lacking in the regions that most need help.

Another proposal is more novel. It is for a farmers' strike, at least among the corn growers of the Central West. This suggestion originates with *Wallaces' Farmer*, published at Des Moines, Iowa. This is the organ of Henry C. Wallace, Secretary of Agriculture in President Harding's Cabinet. The idea is indorsed by other conservative farm journals, such as the *Nebraska Farmer* and the *Prairie Farmer* of Chicago. It is proposed to reduce acreage in the corn belt by at least 25 per cent. According to *Wallaces' Farmer*, business men and bankers will be asked to assist the plan by bringing "economic pressure" on recalcitrant growers. Put more bluntly, they will be asked to stop credit to those who do not reduce their acreage. A reduction in the corn acreage of 25 per cent is considerably more than would normally follow the recent low prices, and it is estimated that it would raise the price of corn in 1922 to a point where there would at least be no loss to the growers.

The spectacle of *Wallaces' Farmer* and other "respectable" farm journals advocating a strike among agriculturists is remarkable. Unlike the press of the National Nonpartisan League, these journals have not encouraged cooperation between farm and city workers—between farmer organizations and labor unions. They have condemned strikes on the part of union labor. If it has no other result, the propaganda in favor of a farmers' strike in the corn belt will at least help the agriculturists of the region to understand that there is sometimes no remedy but to strike.

But what will President Harding say, in case his administration takes action against labor unions, when these organizations point out that the publication of one of his own Cabinet members is in favor of strikes, and that, too, in so basic an occupation as the production of food? *Wallaces' Farmer* seems to realize some inconsistency in its position, for it says: "The policy of restricting production in order to secure an excessive profit is a vicious one. And farmers never have practiced and never will practice it in the *same heartless way* [the italics are ours] as certain other classes of society." The "economic pressure" to be brought to bear upon farmers to influence them in favor of the corn strike is hinted at in Secretary Wallace's paper as follows:

> In the South, bankers, business men, and politicians are so firmly convinced that their welfare fundamentally rests on the price of cotton that they all join in wholeheartedly to make the cotton acreage campaign a success. The bankers in many cases are of especial help, because they refuse to stake those men who do not cut their acreage by at least 20 per cent. Will the bankers and other men of influence in the North see the fundamentals of their prosperity as clearly as these Southerners?

Finally, there is a fourth suggestion: revival of the Grain Corporation with the powers which it had during the war. This idea is sponsored by A. C. Townley, president of the National Nonpartisan League. In its behalf Mr. Townley points out that the Grain Corporation was created to keep the price of wheat *down*. When the price had actually mounted to $3 a bushel during the war, the Grain Corporation set it at $2.20. Mr. Townley thinks that if the Grain Corporation worked so well to keep the price of grain *down*, it can be made equally efficacious to keep the price *up*, so as to insure cost of production plus a reasonable profit to the farmer on the 1922 crop.

But would the Grain Corporation find it as simple to keep the price of wheat up as to keep it down? If there were only the domestic consumer to consider it might be possible. Then the Government could buy and sell the wheat crop at its own prices. The increased cost to the consumer would be an internal tariff levied for the benefit of the farmer. It would be open to the same objections as a duty intended to protect the manufacturer. Moreover, the problem of export would seem to constitute an insuperable difficulty. The Government might fix the price of wheat at home but obviously not abroad. The result would be that the Grain Corporation would have to sell abroad at the market price, and make up the difference out of government revenue, or else it could not sell at all. Now, if the Government did not sell at all abroad, it would not only fail of its duty toward Europe but the home market would be glutted with a surplus useless for anything except fuel. Such a course is clearly unthinkable. The other alternative—that of selling abroad for less than at home and paying the difference out of taxes—would involve the Government in a speculation too vast and uncertain to warrant trial even if the public would undertake to finance it.

The farmer will probably have to extricate himself from his difficulties without much aid from Government as at present constituted. He will have to realize and fight for his group interests just as organized labor has had to do, often in opposition to what we fatuously call "public welfare." If the realization and the fight lead eventually to an alliance with organized labor, it will mean progress for both sides—and incidentally an approach toward a truer public welfare than that usually in the minds of those who so glibly make use of the phrase today.

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The Four-Power Treaty

ON the face of it the Four-Power Treaty which was so promptly adopted by the Washington Conference makes for peace, but in diplomacy things are not always what they seem and this new treaty must not be accepted, if at all, without the closest scrutiny and most careful consideration of what it is, how it came to be, and what it may involve. Its ratification would have manifest advantages: (1) It ought to hasten the independence of the Philippines, to which we are morally committed, by depriving our imperialists of the argument that if we should let them go their way, Japan or England would gobble them up; (2) the treaty contains the excellent provision that in the event of disputes between any of the four parties to the treaty, the questions at issue will be referred to a joint conference of all four nations for discussion and adjudication; (3) the treaty does away with the Anglo-Japanese Alliance; and (4) it decreases the danger arising from disputes over Pacific islands in general.

Unfortunately this is not the whole story. There are dangerous features of the treaty which would seem to outweigh its advantages: (1) It confirms for the signatory Powers their title to spoils which at one time or another they acquired by force or trickery—in particular, it may bar Russia from recovering her part of the Island of Sakhalin; (2) the pact ought to include as signatories Russia and the Far Eastern Republic of Siberia; (3) there is a dangerous hint of force in Article 2 which declares that if the rights of any of the four Powers are threatened by a non-member of the group, the high contracting parties shall communicate with one another fully and frankly in order to arrive at an understanding as to the most efficient measures to be taken jointly and separately to meet the exigencies of the particular situation. Against such dangerous ambiguities in future years the verbal assurance of Senator Lodge that there is no provision for the use of military or naval force is vain. At least a definite affirmation that the United States hereby commits itself to no act of force or war is imperatively demanded.

But the most serious objection to haste is that this treaty cannot be rightly understood until we know what terms will be embodied in the proposed nine-Power convention as to China. If that convention should prove a thieves' agreement, the adoption of this treaty can but strengthen it, for it is impossible to believe that the four great Powers can be allied in matters pertaining to the Pacific without having that alliance effective in matters pertaining to China and Siberia. In reality this treaty is simply a modified Anglo-Japanese Alliance and a triumph for English diplomacy. Opposition of the Dominions, if nothing else, made it necessary for the British to abandon the alliance. They could do it gracefully only by substituting a pact to which the United States was a party, and if we are rightly informed it was this arrangement which they first sought. Mr. Hughes refused to be a third in such a treaty, but agreed to be a fourth with France. If France was added, why not Holland with far more at stake?

Shall we be told that our fears are groundless and that the whole American press approves this pact? So were we told when *The Nation* stood out against the madness of Versailles. Now, as then, it is necessary to appeal to the sober second thought of America.

The United States of Christmas

SUPPOSE, now, we organized a genuine league of nations and called it the United States of Christmas. It is true that Christmas customs vary a great deal among the countries which might be asked to join the federation, but they vary about as little as the customs that those countries have been asked to pool for the sake of any other scheme we have yet heard of; and in addition the Christmas customs generally agree in a habit of good-will which would be an asset. Certainly Christmas has been a potent festival. Origen, ascetic creature, thought that keeping the birthday of Christ treated him "as if he were a king Pharaoh"; yet under Justinian the celebration had grown so popular that there were riots and soldiers necessary in Jerusalem when the related feast of the Epiphany had its date changed to match the new date for Christmas. And we all know what happened when Christmas invaded Britain and hit upon the happy coalition with the pagan "mothers' night" which still survives. Give Christmas a fair chance and, in our opinion, it would spread as much farther as it has spread already.

It is true that there might be some question among the African and Asiatic races as to why they should join in honoring a day sacred to an alien religion, but here the answers would be so easy that even a diplomat could make them. After all, Christmas is not so very Christian as all that: it has a multitude of pagan elements which fit almost any disposition. And then it might be pointed out that the League for which we propose this substitute has not taken the African and Asiatic religions into account in every article. No, the non-Christian nations would be at least as well off in the United States of Christmas as they are now, so far as their religions are concerned. Moreover, they would surely gain from a touch of benevolence in the compact.

Who would make a better President of Christmas than St. Nicholas the Open-Handed? He comes originally from Holland, which invented the Hague Conference. He has a very satisfactory dominion in the United States, which has all races in it. The Commonwealth of Great Britain, scattered through its seven seas, could understand his genial dialect. Germany would recognize his tree. Russia of the late Czar and of the present Lenin would see in Nicholas's name something not foreign. The Latin nations would understand him because he is a saint. Anyway, the Latin nations have no one to nominate who would do better. Turkey, Persia, India, China, Japan—there the machine-guns or the missionaries will have to do their part. Let them remember how Ferrovius, the pious blacksmith, wrestled with his convert: "The next morning his hair was white, but he was a Christian." Let them study how Thangbrand the priest swung the Bible and the battle-ax in Iceland till there were none left but those who were willing to observe Christmas.

There is even a dim possibility that these robuster methods could be dispensed with. Peace has a fire in its heart that kindles wherever it comes. Kindness has been known to conquer enemies whom no rage could frighten and no tyranny oppress. Very hard hearts may be melted with affection, when hands reach out sincerely asking for forgiveness. After long chaffering men have sometimes learned that honesty procures what all the craft in the world cannot procure. "Gifts often buy more than guns or gold."

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India Awakes

I have no news from India. That blood-cemented edifice will one day cave in like a house of cards.—RICHARD COBDEN.

Nowhere in the world is a greater human drama unfolding than in India. On its profound significance we have repeatedly commented, but it is difficult in America to get the information to enable one to understand either non-cooperation or its great leader, M. K. Gandhi. We here present three papers from competent observers, American, English, and Hindu.

Mahatma Gandhi's India

By VINCENT ANDERSON

ALL India is at the feet of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. Preaching a political creed that is new to the Hindu and renewing Vedic ideals of asceticism and sacrifice in his own life, this man has within a brief span of months united Hindu and Mohammedan in a common bond of fraternity that has not existed in India since the days of Gautama. A small, slim, dark, composed man with a tremendous personal magnetism, a man with the untiring energy of Roosevelt, the human sympathy of Debs, and the philosophy of Tolstoi, Gandhi has developed into a force so potent that the English dare not imprison him.

And Gandhi has a new religion. It is not altogether new to the Occident. Anyone who steeps himself sympathetically in Bernard Shaw and Tolstoi, who tries long enough to recognize and to remedy the ills that industrialism has brought, may arrive at the conclusion that the defect of modern civilization is civilization itself. This is new, however, to the India that is adopting English and becoming commercial and learning what a factory and a labor problem is. An industrial and political, intellectual and economic civilization is on India like a hurricane; and Gandhi is trying to forestall it. He declares:

> Formerly when people wanted to fight one another, they measured between them their bodily strength; now it is possible to take away thousands of lives by one man working behind a hill from a gun. This is civilization. Formerly, men worked in the open air only so much as they liked. Now, thousands of workmen meet together and for the sake of maintenance work in factories and mines. Their condition is worse than that of beasts. They are obliged to work, at the risk of their lives, at most dangerous occupations, for the sake of millionaires. . . . This civilization is such that one has only to be patient and it will be self-destroyed.

To Westerners Gandhi's primitive program will seem Quixotic. So it is. True, a gigantic Swadeshi movement—back to the spinning wheel and home manufacture—has arisen, but for a different reason than Gandhi's. It is not because Indians are against civilization but against England, not because they are in favor of the old manner of living but because they are against the new.

What is Gandhi's solution? We are suffering, he says. We have two alternatives, to fight actively or passively. If we fight actively we will be killed like flies—by the millions; we lack bodily energy, ammunition, and guns. If we fight passively we at least have a chance to win. If we take a physical sword we will perish spiritually. Evil cannot overcome evil. We will then become as the men we are fighting. Hate and civilization will have eaten us up. We will then be defeated. There can be no victory in such a material conquest.

The Indians listen to this; they like it immensely for they always have been hero-worshipers. And here is a saint and a revolutionary in one. If Gandhi's dream of social love could come true, it would be the most stupendous event in the history of our world. But the foe is within the gates. Hate is in the heart of the Hindu. Gaunt cheeks, protruding ribs, bloated bellies of children, blear of hunger in women's eyes—these are the outward evidences of an exploitation which makes it absurd to use the same word of the lesser sufferings of the West. Can you blame the Indians if they hate the English?

Resistance is coming. A bloody revolution is not only likely but, I believe, inevitable. Gandhi fears it. But, he says, everything must be done against such an expression of India's desires. If his Tolstoian philosophy of pacifism is not practical or possible for a whole nation to follow, if his Shavian condemnation of an unnatural social order and a defective civilization cannot halt that civilization, nevertheless the Hindus, at least, are getting great ideas in a modern form; Gandhi will be an educator for the future if he cannot be the savior of the present.

The Non-Cooperation Movement

By HELENA NORMANTON

India is achieving Indian independence in an Indian way. The cardinal fact of Indian public life at present is the policy of non-cooperation with the British Government. And the vital fact to grasp is that the leader, M. K. Gandhi, the dreamer, the super-ascetic, surveys the whole of Western civilization with a superbly contemptuous indifference. If British power be ended in India, it is not only the power that will go. It will also be the culture, the administrative policy, the sanitation and hygiene, the art, science, and letters of the West which, for good and for evil, will depart with it. Gandhism is not merely anti-British; it is anti-civilization, except such civilization as has been evolved by India herself. And Indian civilization is a thing apart, a thing in many ways beautiful; but isolation is its bedrock.

In the increasing interdependence of the world of today such an attitude is dangerous. All dividing gulfs are bad, no matter what gorgeous and prehistoric scenery they offer to the eye jaded by the more commonplace beauties of river and plain. Upon a culture based on separateness, glorying in difference, happy in isolation, averse to contact, India's great leader is rearing a political structure consolidating and confirming the whole of India's tacit repudiation of the rest of the world. Such an attitude arises from, and is sustained by, a burning sense of injustice. Recently this has been focused in India's anger at Great Britain's failure to redress her wrongs during the 1919 Reign of Terror in the Punjab (of which the massacre at Amritsar was only one feature) and her perturbations over the position of the Caliph of Islam.

On the latter question, it must be remembered that there are 70,000,000 Moslems in India, who are profoundly disturbed by the spectacle of a Turkey defeated by the Allies, her prostration to the dust having been largely accomplished

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by the aid of Indian troops in the recent war. And the Sultan of Turkey is their Caliph, their supreme spiritual head! A pledge given by Premier Lloyd George during the war's course, that the Allies were not fighting to deprive Turkey of her "renowned homelands," has been torn to verbal tatters between pro-Turk Indians and Britons (a very influential group in English public life has always had strong pro-Turk affinities) and anti-Turk Britons with Entente Allies of the type of Greece, now at war again with Turkey. Each side interprets the ambiguous pledge in its own favor. Moreover, at the conclusion of the war a new difficulty arose over Mesopotamia. That unblessed land was then threatened, and is now practically extinguished, by the Anglo-French-Dutch oil combine. But one influential Mohammedan delegation after another from India has put forward a religious theory, of which the West was until then unaware, that it was the dying injunction of the Great Prophet that the vast "Jazirat-ul-Arab" (roughly Arabia plus Mesopotamia) must always be a religious sanctuary undefiled by the domination of the unbeliever. The erection of the Emir Feisal to the throne of Mesopotamia, sharply followed by the news that the British Government is to hold 50 per cent of the Turkish Petroleum Company, of which the Royal Dutch-Shell and the French Government are each to hold 25 per cent, is no disguise of the real situation to shrewd Indian eyes. The oil barons of Mesopotamia will not be rulers compatible with the deeply held religious views based on that injunction of Mohammed; so that contentment can hardly be expected.

Unfortunately British good-will, which abounds, is only too often overpowered by the highly concentrated few—the financiers who assist Greece, the oil barons, and the international bankers. Meantime, while King George's Government is slow to act upon the plain fact that because Great Britain has more Moslem subjects than any other Power, she has therefore more duties to Islam, Mr. Gandhi is gathering in their loyalty. A Hindu himself, his sympathy with the humiliated religious feelings of his Moslem compatriots is rapidly weaning them into an alliance away from that former inter-religious hate which was one of the secrets of the power of the West over India. India *had* divided; therefore another could rule over her. An interunion of the two mighty forces of Hinduism and Islam will be so colossal an event that, whether Gandhi achieves or not the independence of India, its formation will assure him a magnificent place among the makers of India. Moreover, each philosophy of life, Hindu and Moslem, will tend to break down the walled-off exclusiveness of the other. Mohammedanism also has never been so rooted in anti-universalism and separatism as Hinduism has ever been. The "Brothers"—Mohammed and Shaukat Ali[1]—are the popular leaders of the Moslem section. Impulsive, voluble, impetuous, roughly sincere, they are strange comrades for the implacably gentle Hindu dreamer of Tolstoian dreams. Gandhi interposes between them and the traditional sword of Islam his bloodless weapon of non-cooperation with the British administration, whose full adoption nevertheless can but lead to hideous bloodshed.

Within even the camp of his great organization, the Indian National Congress, Gandhi has his divisions and difficulties. The Maharastra camp—the former followers of the late B. G. Tilak—is inclined to repudiate Gandhi's policy of boycotting the new legislative bodies of India and to seek election thereto. Many of them think that the powers conferred on the new Councils are extensive enough to make a trial from within justifiable. They would follow a policy of sharp, progressive give and take—responsive cooperation wherever Government met them, Parnellite obstruction wherever it proved adamantine. This indeed was the policy at first adopted by the Indian National Congress upon the passage of the last Government of India Act. It was dramatically reversed at a congress of a year ago owing to the failure of Britain to satisfy Indian demands for redress after the Punjab Reign of Terror and for the revision of the terms of the Treaty of Sèvres with Turkey—reinforced, no doubt, by the tragically inopportune death of B. G. Tilak at the one instant where his life and talents were supremely needed by his country. The Maharastra party are willing enough to follow Gandhi in his boycott and bonfires of foreign textiles and also in his liquor prohibitionist views. They are unfavorable, however, to his over-frequent proclamation of personal and private views upon religious dietary and family questions. Their own pet piece of reaction is reversion to the use of an ancient calendar based upon calculations more nearly related to Hindu mythology than to the facts of the solar system—a calendar which amiably lags a month behind the rest of the world within every three years. The Moderate Party in India have, of course, swept the polls and swamped the new Councils, owing to the voluntary abstention of the non-cooperationists. Some of their leaders have done fairly well.

In India itself the new Viceroy, Viscount Reading, has abandoned the old policy of celestial inaccessibility and meets everyone in friendly conference, from Mr. Gandhi downwards. Indeed, he almost gives an impression of dancing a risky *pas seul* on hot bricks among eggs not long to be unbroken. The repeal of repressive press laws is in the air. Prison reforms are foreshadowed. A general modification of the old wood and iron despotism is going on at a more rapid pace than ever before. Liberalism is the avowed fashion. But is it genuine? For while Amritsar is unatoned for, while Islamic India is perturbed to its fanatical depths, while Indians are helots in many quarters of the British Empire there can be no real conciliation. Hence, abandonment of the non-cooperation movement, with all its nobility, all its self-sacrifice (one Bengali barrister, C. R. Das, has given up a legal practice worth £30,000 a year), all its passive heroism, all its divine folly, all its saintly and incorruptible leadership, and also with all its nascent dangers to a world in need of unification—that is utterly improbable.

[1] Recently sentenced by the British to two years' imprisonment for sedition.

Gandhi and Non-Cooperation

By LAJPAT RAI[2]

Gandhi's simplicity, openness, frankness, and directness confound the modern politician, parliamentarian, and publicist. They suspect him of some deep design. He fears no one and frightens no one. He recognizes no conventions except such as are absolutely necessary not to remove him from the society of men and women. He recognizes no masters and no *gurus* (spiritual preceptors). He claims no *chelas* (disciples) though he has many. He has and pretends to no supernatural powers, though credulous people believe that he is endowed with them. He owns no property, keeps no bank accounts, makes no investments, yet makes no fuss about asking for anything he needs. Such of his countrymen as

[2] Arrested recently, charged with sedition.

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have drunk deep from the fountains of European history and European politics and who have developed a deep love for European manners and European culture neither understand nor like him. In their eyes he is a barbarian, a visionary, and a dreamer. He has probably something of all these qualities, because he is nearest to the verities of life and can look at things with plain eyes without the glasses of civilization and sophistry.

Some say he is a nihilist; others that he is an anarchist; others again that he is a Tolstoian. He is none of these things. He is a plain Indian patriot who believes in God, religion, and the Scriptures. He believes even in caste, not the present-day subdivisions and subsections of it, but the four original castes of the ancient Aryans. He does not believe in the superiority or domination of one caste over another, but he believes in their different occupations according to their inherited ability. He is so orthodox as to believe that caste is heritable. Far from being an anarchist he believes in discipline, organization, and authority. His cult is not one of negation as some say, but of positive discipline made up of self-denial and self-assertion. He does not believe in the inherent superiority of the white race or in its God-given mission of ruling other people by making tools of them. He does not hate the European civilization, but he abhors the industrial system upon which the civilization of Europe rests, and the double-mindedness which characterizes European politicians. The doctrine of non-cooperation which he preaches and practices is not a negation. It is the withdrawal of that help which the Indian people have voluntarily been giving the English which has made it possible for them to rule India and exploit her for their own ends.

The non-cooperation program consists of: (a) Rejection of all government titles, honors, and honorary offices, (b) abstention from drink, (c) withdrawal of all boys and girls from a system of education which has reconciled the best of Indians to slavery under foreign domination, without feeling the sting of it, and which has made of them parasites sucking the blood of the classes that produce and work, (d) establishment of such schools and colleges as will give a secondary place to the study of English and other European literature, reserving the first for the spoken languages of India and for manual training, (e) boycott of English forms of "justice," their courts and their lawyers, (f) boycott of foreign cloth and the rehabilitation of Swadeshi (i.e., Indian-made cloth),[3] (g) withdrawal of Indians from the service of the British Government and from service in the British army and the British police, (h) non-payment of taxes.

This is a provisional program which is by no means exhaustive and which is not to be put into practice all at once. Gandhi and his associates have been working on this program for only twelve months and the success they have achieved is marvelous. It is true that not many people have given up their titles or honorary offices. It is also true that only a small proportion of lawyers have given up their practice. As regards withdrawal of students, the vice-chancellor of the Calcutta University, an Indian high court judge in the confidence of the British, complained the other day that in Bengal the attendance at colleges had fallen by 23 per cent and at schools by 27 per cent, and that the university had suffered a great loss of income from examination fees. As regards the boycott of foreign cloth, he has succeeded remarkably well. Lancashire is already feeling the pinch, and the sale of foreign cloth in Indian bazaars has gone down to less than 25 per cent. It may be safely said that the masses and the middle classes are with and the wealthy against him. There are a sufficiently good number of wealthy men also with him as was proved by the phenomenal success of the Tilak Swaraj Fund for which ten million rupees were collected in less than three months. In these three months he perfected the Congress organization which now has a registered membership of about ten millions. He called upon the country to introduce two million new spinning wheels in the same period and the response was more than adequate. These are concrete items of his success, but to my mind his great success lies in having created a universal love of freedom and a spirit of non-violence among the people. The Indian patriot of Mr. Gandhi's school is quite distinguishable from the old revolutionaries of Russia. He works in the open and has no secret affiliations either in India or abroad. He is frankly out to destroy the present system of government and win full freedom for his country, with full discretion to remain in or go out of the British Empire as it suits him best.

It is true that the "higher" and "respectable" classes of the intelligentsia who have thrown themselves on the side of the Government are opposed to his program because it would reduce them to positions of comparative poverty and nothingness. The British in India have accepted these intelligentsia as subordinate partners in their business of exploitation. Imperialism is as much a business as capitalism. For 150 years the intelligentsia cried for reforms. The Government did not listen to them. At first they did not ask even for home rule. They merely wanted a few more posts and offices and extension of education. In 1905 rose a party which set up the flag of independence. Both the Government and the intelligentsia saw that the game was up. That astute scholar-politician, John Morley, started the policy of "Rally the moderates." So he decided to throw them a few crumbs. They accepted them gratefully, sang Hallelujahs of gratitude and praise, and conspired to root out the extremist, both by repression and propaganda.

In the meantime came the war. Lord Morley's disciples and the princes immediately declared for the British, and persuaded the people to believe that British victory would bring them freedom. The country was "bled white." Men and money, munitions and provisions were poured into the theaters of war, though the country itself lost millions of souls (six millions from influenza alone in six months) from disease and distress. Victory came and was immediately followed by the Rowlatt Act which was a negation of freedom. Gandhi who during the war had been recruiting for the Government, but had caught the popular fancy by his simple life and fearless championship of the poor and the peasant, declared for passive resistance.

All kinds of repression have been resorted to; meetings proclaimed and prohibited, speakers and writers arrested and imprisoned; but the movement has progressed unchecked. India is in a state of non-violent revolt. The most pleasing feature of the new movement is the active support

[3] It is an historical fact that before the establishment of British rule in India and for some time after it spinning and weaving was a universal occupation in India. An English traveler of those days has observed that half of the population was engaged in it. India is an agricultural country where one can raise only seasonal crops. The agriculturist has a good deal of leisure which under British rule he has been simply wasting. Formerly he used to employ it in spinning and weaving. Under British rule he idles it away, causing immense economic loss to the country. Foreign cloth and yarn are our principal import. In 1913-14 we imported foreign cloth and yarn of the value of about 600,000,000 rupees ($200,000,000). Lately its value went up to about 900,000,000 rupees ($300,000,000). This is more than one-fourth of our total imports.

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it is getting from the women, who flock to the non-cooperation meetings, clad in *khaddar*, by thousands. Millions worth of foreign cloth has been destroyed in order to intensify the feeling against it. Thousands are ready to adopt general civil disobedience of British laws as the cult of their lives, but the leaders are withholding their consent in their desire to keep the movement strictly non-violent. When a man is arrested, he refuses to give bail and goes straight to the lock-up with a view to spreading the idea that he has no confidence in and he does not recognize the authority of the Government and its courts. In some places people have lost self-control and committed outrages on the police and government men. Gandhi has denounced them and advised expiation.

The movement for Indian freedom has taken deep root and gone out of the control of the Government and the "respectable" section of the intelligentsia. The Government can repress, but it cannot suppress. The greater part of Mr. Gandhi's following may even now accept a dominion form of government within the British Empire, but a little more delay and the weight of public opinion will not be satisfied with anything less than full independence.

Jockeying at Washington

By NATHANIEL PEFFER

Washington, December 11

STRIKING out as an empty interjection the farce of the plenary session with all its rodomontade of peace cynically flung in the face of a world haggard with the suffering of one war and the fear of another, one finds the Conference exactly where it was a week ago. The week has been one of jockeying for position and diplomatic huckstering behind closed doors in the best Foreign Office manner. Out of it all has come only this Four-Power Treaty so-called, which binds the contracting parties to the practice of virtue in their future conduct in a vacuum. They are now pledged not to fight over that which they could never consider worth fighting for anyway.

Intrinsically the treaty is worth small consideration. It can be construed only as a winding-sheet for the corpse of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance and the mock-solemn rites with which it was promulgated as its funeral service. It kills the alliance without the appearance of murder. The alliance is dead, however; that is the essential fact. The treaty that succeeds it is not an expanded alliance. It has no military provisions and does not apply to the Far East. It concerns only the Pacific Islands and is irrelevant to the situation with which the Conference deals. In all probability it will soon be little more than a page in the textbooks on international law.

America has won by the passing of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance, but let there be no premature exultation. Judged as a move in American diplomatic strategy, it is nearer a defeat than a victory. We could have had victory on those terms without calling a world conference. We could have got abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance at the price of joining in another treaty, even such a treaty as this, at any time in the last year. That was the desire of those with whom we were dealing, not ours. Had America been competent in diplomacy, it would have withheld adhesion to such a treaty as a bargain-point and conceded it only at the end of the Conference in exchange for acceptance of its demands —naval reduction on Mr. Hughes's proposed ratio and a liberal settlement of Chinese problems. Instead we have given it now, with the question of naval reduction still unsettled and a liberal settlement of Chinese questions only remotely possible. In a position to dictate, we have tossed away our advantage, given it away as a concession instead of using it to force one.

Logically and on the evidence I can convince myself that America has gained more than it has lost by this treaty; but my intuitions make me fearful. The universal acclaim is of bad omen. Whenever in international conference in which America participates the other participants arise with America to acclaim American victory, whenever the other participants in an international bargain are equally satisfied with America, one makes quick search to see what America has lost. For myself I should feel more at ease if there had been ever so faint a note of disagreement at the plenary session. I should like to feel, for instance, that when Mr. Hughes arose to rejoice that a great blow had been struck for world peace and the shackles had been sundered from China's limbs, he had his tongue in his cheek and was laughing within himself. What I fear so much is that he believed it; and that Messrs. Balfour, Viviani, and Kato had persuaded him.

There were overtones, too, in Mr. Balfour's chaste self-congratulation that it should have been he who had presided over the original negotiations for Anglo-Japanese accord, for Anglo-French entente, and now, his long-cherished desire for union of the English-speaking races. His parallelism may not have been accidental. It is an alliance after all, even if only such an alliance. It is an entanglement, if only an entanglement in a vacuum. A vacuum may be filled; or, into the vacuum of the broad Pacific may be moved the Asiatic continent. One might translate Mr. Balfour: for all these years they of Europe had invited us to come into their parlor. Almost he himself had persuaded us two years ago at Paris. Now we are persuaded.

Is one too skeptical? Contemporary history and observation of contemporary phenomena shake one's faith. Surveying the last few years and even the last few months, one might thus project in symbolism America's present-day foreign relations, which in the end turn chiefly on British-American relations. At the beginning America starts with two guns in its hands and the drop on Great Britain. Having the drop, it binds and gags Great Britain. Then in the next five minutes something happens—one does not know what—whereby, America still having the guns in its hands and Great Britain still being bound and gagged, everything that was in America's pockets is found in Great Britain's pockets. Perhaps it is premature to apply that to this Conference; but the evidence, in more than the Four-Power Treaty, is significant.

If so, one may observe that now that everything is going into Britain's pockets, *grâce à* Mr. Balfour, there is prospect of Mr. Lloyd George's coming. Well, I may be too mournful a prophet, but one may foresee that when he goes the White House and the State, War, and Navy Building will

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be on rollers, attached to the end of his special train, rolled along with him to New York and thence to London. And by way of making resistance and showing our indignation, we shall send the Washington Monument along after him. True, Mr. Lloyd George probably will not come. For which I am thankful. For while the State, War, and Navy Building is a chromo in stone and its loss would be our gain, still I have many friends in it; and the White House it is a lovely jewel in our tinsel and jimcrackery national crown. Its loss would be a pity.

However—I leave all that to Mr. Borah.

As for the Conference, the Four-Power Treaty is merely an interpellation in its main business. The Conference itself remains, as I have said, as it was a week ago, both as to naval reduction and Far Eastern problems. It has been brought to a state of suspense, principally by Japanese obstruction. The Japanese are repeating the tactics they used at the Paris Conference. This is due, I suppose, less to evil intent than psychological limitations and bad precept. The Japanese are none too elastic in their approach to any aspect of modern life. They learned the technique of diplomacy, as well as of militarism and internal bureaucracy and big business, by rote out of foreign textbooks, and they apply it mechanically. That is what is meant when it is said of them that they are only imitators.

Not Japan alone has made a moral failure, however, and not Japan alone is to blame for the course of the Conference. If it has not played a magnificent part, neither has Great Britain. There is more than the conventional suspicion of British diplomacy on which to base a belief that the British have played both ends for selfish national advantage. Had they come out at once for a generous and fair settlement of Chinese questions, for a generous and fair redress to China, Japan would have been driven to follow by the fear of isolation. Instead, the British, too, have been non-committal. They have hovered now on one side, now on another, whispering now that they were exerting pressure on Japan to yield, acting now to indicate that they were stiffening Japanese obduracy. They have flown innumerable balloons to obscure the light. They have released a ceaseless stream of official propaganda to gull the stupid American press and confuse issues; seeking only to keep the *status quo* undisturbed, that they might retain what they have in China and yet give America cause for self-satisfaction.

And China is maneuvered further and further into futility, partly by reason of its own ineffectiveness and partly by reason, as I have said before, of a false start under American advice. A stone wall in front of them and the prodding of their own people at their backs, the Chinese delegates are falling away by attrition. Reversed in their demand for recession of leased territories, reversed in their demand for withdrawal of foreign troops on Chinese soil without treaty right, reversed in their demand that no treaties be concluded by the Powers with reference to China without China's consent, put off in the matter of tariffs and post offices, the Chinese have for their advantage out of the Conference only a few unapplied generalities. They are still struggling for Shantung.

So bitter is feeling at home and so disillusioned most of the delegation that some of its members have resigned; itself a bad tactical move, for China should stay in the Conference as a nation or withdraw as a nation. Its withdrawal now is contingent on the settlement of Shantung. The Chinese have given up hope of liberation, of restoration of such of their lost sovereignty as might be restored without jeopardizing the foreign interests of which so much is heard through the chaos on which so false an emphasis has been put. They hope now only for the return of Shantung, the symbol and rallying-cry of their people. And the symbol of Shantung is the Kiauchao-Tsinanfu Railway, the line that cuts through the heart of the province from the sea. Everything but the railway has been conceded by Japan; but everything else is of no avail if the Japanese hold the railway. The Japanese are still insistent on joint Chinese-Japanese control of the railway; but long experience proves that joint Chinese-Japanese control always means exclusive Japanese military control. There is reason to believe now that the Japanese will yield the railway in return for a money consideration; more probably, hold it up to bargain against Chinese recognition of Japan's right to hold South Manchuria. In any case they will only have stopped the running sore in the side of China. They will have ingratiated themselves with China. They will not have won China's goodwill. They have haggled too long for that. And if they do not yield the railway, then the Conference is a failure. China will lay the question before the Conference and the Conference must support Japan, for six nations in the Conference are signatories to the Versailles treaty, on which Japan bases its claim to Shantung. Then China either will withdraw forthwith or wait until the end and refuse to sign whatever agreement is drafted.

As for America, it still has one opportunity, although a slight one, to bring about a settlement in the Far East that will do away with the causes of war. Great Britain, France, and Japan have signified, in their action on their leased territories in China, that they do not intend to give up anything vital and that they do not intend to disturb the *status quo*. America has one more approach to the subject, under the Open Door section of the agenda. Under this South Manchuria, which is the outstanding issue, can be reexamined, and the Twenty-one Demands brought up for revision. Under this it is possible not only to bring about a compromise on Japan's status in South Manchuria but to demand the abandonment of those political and commercial practices which have made South Manchuria a Japanese colony, to the exclusion of Chinese as well as other national interests. It is possible also, under one of China's ten points, to bring up for examination all of China's commitments and the Powers' claims for special rights, politically and economically, in all parts of China. Thereby it would be possible at least to put on record the Powers as to their willingness to give up monopolies, to abandon their obstruction of China's development when those monopolies are threatened, to abandon their dog-in-the-manger role in a weak and ruthlessly exploited country.

I shall not say how much chance there is for repentance in the interval of ten or twelve days; but the opportunity at least is America's to put the choice before the Powers, and the responsibility is America's. Much more on America is the onus than on China. It was America that called this Conference, of its own volition. It was America that raised Chinese hopes. If America is to be satisfied with the results now forecast, if Mr. Hughes really means that great boons have been conferred on China in what has already been done, then America will not only have suffered an immeasurable defeat in diplomacy; it will have committed a shameful act of betrayal against the Chinese, a people whose cause it has voluntarily sponsored.

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Modern China—II. Chinese Ethics

By BERTRAND RUSSELL

THE Chinese are more fond of laughter than any other nation with which I am acquainted. Every little incident amuses them, and their talk is almost always humorous. They have neither the grim determination to succeed which characterizes the Anglo-Saxon, nor the tragic self-importance of the Slav; Samuel Smiles and Dostoevski, the typical prophets of these two races, are both equally remote from the Chinese spirit. A Slav or Teuton believes instinctively that he alone is truly real, and that the apparently external world is merely a product of his imagination; hence the vogue of idealistic philosophies. It follows that one's own death is a tremendous event, since it makes the universe collapse; nothing short of personal immortality can avert this awful cataclysm. To the Anglo-Saxon, it is his own purposes rather than his own imaginings that are sacred, because he cares more for action than for thought; but to him, as to the Slav, the ego is all-important, because the immutable principles of morality demand the victory of his volitions. And so he snatches a moral victory out of the very jaws of death by alliance with a Heavenly Will.

These solemnities are not for the Chinese. Their instinctive outlook is social rather than individual; the family takes the place which to us is taken by the single personality. To us, self-development or self-realization is not a palpably absurd basis for ethics; to the Chinaman, the development of the family is not a palpably absurd basis. Accordingly, when a Chinaman finds that he is dying, he does not take the event tragically, as we do; he merely follows the rites. He assembles his sorrowing family (their sorrow is part of the rites); he makes an appropriate farewell speech to them; he sees to it that his coffin is duly prepared, and that his funeral will be worthy of so important a family. When these duties are accomplished, his death is an occurrence to which he resigns himself without any particular interest or emotion.

This absence of self-feeling produces an absence of pomposity; Meredith's Egoist would be impossible in China. The Chinese, of course, are selfish, like other people, but their selfishness is instinctive, as in children and animals, not clothed in fine phrases as ours is. I doubt whether psychoanalysis would find much material among them. There is in Chinese no word for "persecution"; I forgot to ask whether there was any word for "prig," but I doubt it. Barring Confucius himself, I cannot think of any Chinaman, either in history or among my acquaintance, who could be described as a prig. The result of all this is a liberation of the impulses to play and enjoyment which makes Chinese life unbelievably restful and delightful after the solemn cruelties of the West.

It would, however, be misleading to suggest that Chinese conventional morality is less absurd, or demands less self-sacrifice, than that of Christian countries. While I was in Peking an old woman of no particular importance died, and her daughter died of grief immediately afterwards. (I heard of the case from the European doctor who was attending them, who assured me that no ordinary cause of death could be found in the daughter.) To die of grief on the death of a parent is a supreme victory of filial piety, conferring great luster upon the individual and the family. It is customary to put up ceremonial arches, nominally at the public expense, in some public place, to hand down to posterity the knowledge of such signal virtue. So far, so good; but the sequel is not so pleasant. In the case in question public opinion demanded that the family should provide a specially magnificent funeral for the mother and daughter, and in order to defray the expense the sons, who were moderately well-to-do, had to sell all they possessed and become ricksha coolies. This is one concrete example of the harm done by making the family the basis of ethics.

The family is the source of a great deal of the corruption that vitiates Chinese public life. When a man is appointed to a post filial piety demands that he should use his position to enrich his relations. As his legitimate salary does not admit of much being done in this way, he is compelled to eke it out by methods which we should consider dishonest; if he does not, he is condemned by public opinion as an unnatural son or brother. Many returned students who begin with Western ideals find themselves caught in this net and unable to escape from its meshes.

The subjection of women is, of course, essential to a strong family system, and is carried very far by Chinese conventional morality, though not so far as in Japan. Old-fashioned Chinese women are not allowed to see any men except their husbands' relations, though they may go out (with a female attendant) for shopping or visiting other women. When a man marries he takes his wife to live in his father's house, and she becomes, usually, the slave of her mother-in-law, who believes any slander brought by the servants, and uses them to keep her daughter-in-law in subjection. The wife is not considered to have any ground of complaint if her husband takes a concubine, and she is censured if she marries again after his death. Betrothals are arranged by the parents of the young people, who do not meet until the wedding ceremony. Betrothals are often entered into in infancy, and are more binding even than marriage. There are recognized grounds for divorce, but there is no recognized way of escaping from a betrothal.

All this is, of course, very bad, and Young China reacts against it vigorously. I became acquainted with various married couples living in houses of their own, where the wife enjoyed all the liberties that an English wife would have. Many girls nowadays are well educated on Western lines in normal schools and afterwards in colleges or universities. They are admitted to Peking Government University, where quite a number attended my lectures. These girls, naturally, are not willing to enter upon the old-fashioned kind of marriage, and the men students whom I came across were quite at one with them on this point.

When I arrived in Peking, I said that I wished to have a seminar for the better students. Accordingly they organized what they called a Society for Studying Russell's Philosophy, which met once a week under the presidency of an Oxford philosopher, Professor Fu, who usually acted as interpreter. We met in the Returned Students' Club, the pupils seated at a long table and the professors at a smaller table with tea and cakes. The pupils asked questions and discussed our answers with great keenness and perfect candor. After spending some time on problems of pure phi-

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losophy, we began to consider social questions, which interested them far more. We had lively debates on communism and bolshevism, most of the students taking the view that China could and ought to become communist tomorrow. But the liveliest evening of all was devoted to the family system. Afterwards I discovered that these youths, to whom a new intellectual and moral world was just opening, were most of them already married or betrothed, without their participation, to girls whom they did not know and who were presumably full of traditional prejudices. This presented an acute moral problem, upon which it was difficult for an outsider to offer an opinion.

It is clear that worship of the family in China is an evil comparable in magnitude to worship of the state or the nation among ourselves, though the nature of its bad effects is quite different. Most Europeans in China are ultra-conservative as regards Chinese institutions, and assert that without the family ethic all Chinese morality would crumble. I believe this to be a profound mistake. All progressive Chinese take the opposite view, and I am firmly convinced that they are right. All that is worst in Old China is connected with the family system. In old days some degree of public duty was deduced from the system by the fiction that filial piety demanded service of the emperor. But since the establishment of the republic this fiction no longer serves, and a new morality is needed to inculcate public spirit and honesty in government. Young China fully understands this need, and will, given time, provide the new teaching that is required. But whether the Powers will allow enough time is very doubtful. Chinese problems are not capable of being satisfactorily settled by a mechanical imposition of order and what we consider good government. Adjustment to new ideas demands a period of chaos, and it is not for the ultimate good of China to shorten this period artificially. But I doubt whether this view will commend itself to the foreigners who think they know how to save China.

The Diary of Sir Roger Casement*

CHAPTER IV

Berlin, 2 November, 1914

MEYER called for me at 11, took me on foot to Unter den Linden, close at hand, and down it to the Wilhelmstrasse in which, at No. 76, is the Foreign Office. . . . The Foreign Office is an old-fashioned white, very plain house of the time of Frederick the Great or earlier. You have to ring at a wooden gateway door, and the door opens. We went upstairs and a servant man took our coats, hats, and sticks! So different from the London Foreign Office where I have been so often *chez moi!* The waiting-room we were shown into was a fine *salon*, well furnished and large, with fine old paintings of King Friedrich Wilhelm III and the old Emperor Wilhelm. Meyer told me I was to be received first by the Under Secretary of State, Herr Zimmermann, and then by Count Georg von Wedel, the "head of the English Department." Meyer left me alone a few minutes. Some officers came and went, cavalry men in gray. Strange thoughts were mine, as I sat on a big sofa in this center of policy of the German Empire. No regrets, no fears. Well —yes; some regrets, but no fears. I thought of Ireland the land I should almost fatally never see again. Only a miracle of victory could ever bring me to her shores—a victory which I did not expect, could not in truth hope for. But, victory or defeat, it is all for Ireland. And she cannot suffer from what I do. I may, I must suffer—and even those near and dear to me—but my country can only gain from my treason. Whatever comes, that must be so. If I win all, it is national resurrection—a free Ireland, a world nation after centuries of slavery, of people lost in the Middle Ages refound and returned to Europe.

If I fail—if Germany be defeated—still the blow struck today for Ireland must change the course of British policy toward that country. Things will never be again quite the same. The "Irish Question" will have been lifted from the mire and mud and petty, false strife of British domestic politics into an international atmosphere. That, at least, I shall have achieved. England can never again play with the "Irish Question." She will *have* to face the issue once for all. With the clear issue thus raised by me she will have to deal. She must either face a discontented conspiring Ireland—or bind it closer by a grant of far fuller liberties. Coercion she cannot again resume. *Laissez-faire* must go forever. "Home Rule" must become indeed home rule—and even if all my hopes are doomed to rank failure abroad, at least I shall have given more to Ireland by one bold deed of open treason than Redmond & Co. after years of talking and spouting treason have gained from England. England does not mind the "treason" of the orthodox Irish "patriot." She took the true measure of that long ago. She only fears the Irishman who *acts;* not him who talks. She recognizes only action, and respects only deeds. Those men have killed England with their mouth times and again—I am going to hit her with my clenched hand. It is a blow of sincere enmity, based on a wholly impersonal disregard of consequences to myself—sure only that it is in truth a blow for Ireland. I *should* be a traitor did I not act as I am doing. I have often said, and said it without concealment, that if ever the chance came to strike a blow for Ireland I'd do it.

Well, the chance has come. I am not responsible for it. The crime is not mine. It is England's own doing. Grey and Asquith are the real traitors. They have surely betrayed *their* country and her true interests to glut the greedy jealousy of the British commercial mind. . . . For them, that so-called Liberal Administration, I have nothing but unmeasured contempt—a scorn I cannot express—and for the "governing classes" too of the pirate realm. For the people themselves, and for many individual Englishmen, I have only deep sorrow, regret, pity, and affection. But as Wilfrid Blunt said to me in Sussex at Newbuilding in May, when I lunched with him and that lovely girl (the great granddaughter of Lord Edward Fitzgerald), the time has come for the break-up of the British Empire. Even as he said he hoped *now* to live to see it, so I hope to be able to *do* something to bring it about. That Empire is a monstrosity. The world will be the better, the more sincere, the less hypocritical for a British defeat—for a German *victory.*

Many thoughts, like these, were with me as I waited. When I was shown into Herr Zimmermann's cabinet, I met

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a fair-haired man with a *very* good-natured face and a warm and close handshake. I liked him at once. He was warm *hearted* as well as warm handed. He congratulated me warmly on my *safe* arrival and spoke of the Christiania episode in fitting terms. He asked me long about it—and I described the whole incident, and his comment was my own. "Dastardly," he said; "but it is what they do and have *always* done when their interests are at stake. They stick at nothing."

I had written a hasty memorandum, in the morning in my bedroom—in my pyjamas—giving a fresh point of view and drawing in outline the form of declaration I thought the German Government might issue.

Sir Roger Casement who has arrived in Berlin from the United States has been received at the Foreign Office.

Sir Roger Casement pointed out that statements were being published in Ireland, apparently with the authority of the British Government behind them, to the effect that a German victory would inflict great loss upon the Irish people, whose homes, churches, priests, and lands would be at the mercy of an invading army actuated only by motives of pillage and conquest.

Recent utterances of Mr. Redmond on his recruiting tour in Ireland and many pronouncements of the British press in Ireland to the above effect have been widely circulated, Sir Roger pointed out, and have caused natural apprehension among Irishmen as to the German attitude toward Ireland in the event of a German victory in the present war.

Sir Roger sought a convincing statement of German intentions toward Ireland that might reassure his countrymen all over the world, and particularly in Ireland and America, in view of these disquieting statements emanating from responsible British quarters.

In reply to this inquiry the acting Secretary of State at the Foreign Office by order of the Imperial Chancellor has made the following official declaration:

The German Government repudiates the evil intentions attributed to it in the statements referred to by Sir Roger Casement and takes this opportunity to give a categoric assurance that the German Government desires only the welfare of the Irish people, their country, and their institutions.

The Imperial Government formally declares that under no circumstances would Germany invade Ireland with a view to its conquest or the overthrow of any native institutions in that country.

Should the fortune of this great war, that was not of Germany's seeking, ever bring in its course German troops to the shores of Ireland, they would land there, not as an army of invaders to pillage and destroy, but as the forces of a Government that is inspired by good-will toward a country and a people for whom Germany desires only national prosperity and national freedom.

I read the declaration to Herr Zimmermann. He agreed with every paragraph and sentence, and when I had done took the whole paper from me and said, "I accept it entirely." After an interview more cheering and full of a spirit of good-will than I had ever hoped for, I was taken to v. Wedel. Here I found a charming personality—a man of upright build, frank, straight brown eyes, and a perfect English accent. Our talk was long and friendly. I told him I had left the memorandum and form of proposed declaration with the Under Secretary of State. . . . .

So said v. Wedel: "It is clearly the declaration first of all." He then discussed with Meyer and myself the steps for my safety in Berlin "not alone from the Berliners but from your own people." He proposed going at once with Meyer to the Chief of the Secret Police and explaining things—and took me back in his taxi as far as the Continental where I got out. Later in the day Meyer returned with a card issued by the Chief of the Political Police, saying that Mr. Hammond of New York was not to be molested. . . .

[From November 2 to 17 there are no entries in the Diary. On November 4, 1914, Christensen wrote from Berlin in the prearranged code to his allotted British agent, Sigvald, a letter which decoded reads: "Have got good letter giving names. Sending through post office difficult. Give quickly advice. I am broke; send plenty of money—Adler." To this he received a reply, written in Norwegian, and dated Christiania, November 16, which decoded and translated reads: "Letter arrived. I hope that the names and the full addresses will be sent to this address. We pay £30 if information reliable. The money could be paid on your return or as you wish—Sigvald."

Christensen decided to return forthwith to Christiania to secure if possible irrefutable proof of Mr. Findlay's plot against Sir Roger. Sir Roger was on the eve of a visit to Headquarters of the German General Staff at Charleville.]

17 November, 1914

Today I sent Adler out to buy various things needed for my journey and arranged all details of his return to Moss on Saturday next (when his teeth are finished, poor boy!) with two faked letters and papers of my Diary he has "stolen."

Meyer came, and all three came to my room, where we arranged for Adler's passport to be visaed, so that he could leave for Moss on Saturday without danger of the "papers" I was giving him for Mr. Findlay's benefit being seized at the Sassnitz frontier on his way out of Germany. Bidding poor old Adler (who nearly wept!) goodby, "Mr. Hammond" with his uniformed escort of the Baron and Count and his attaché, Mr. Meyer, was bowed out of the hall.

24 November, 1914

On getting back to Berlin last Friday from our hurried visit to Headquarters I found Adler still here, but prepared to go back to Norway on the morrow—with the sham letters I had written for Mr. de C. Findlay's benefit.

The declaration of the German Government on Ireland was not yet issued, and I wondered throughout the forenoon and after lunch at the cause of the delay, as von Wedel had told me on Tuesday last, before I left for Charleville, that it would be given to the press on Wednesday last. However, about 3, I happened to see the *Midday Gazette*—the *B. Z. am Mittag*—and there it was. "Deutsche Sympathie-Erklärung für Irland—Sir Roger Casement in Berlin" (Freitag 20 November). It was placed in big type and in the most prominent part of the paper—as central "inset" on the front page. Over the inset was an article headed, "Sir Roger's Aktion—Zu seinem Berliner Besuche," which was not only a sort of biography of me, but a eulogy as well. All the evening papers as they came out had it in too—some with comment, others without. It had been issued first, I saw, in the morning, in the semi-official *North German Gazette*. . . . The *Continental News* of Friday also has the declaration in full. . . . I have asked the Foreign Office to order 3,000 extra copies for the Irish soldiers.

On Sunday I saw Adler off at 11:18 to Sassnitz with two faked letters and two "stolen" pages of "my Diary" giving hints at impending invasion of Ireland by myself and friends here (50,000) "by end of December." It should make Findlay's hair—such as remains of it—rise up and bless him.

Von Wedel tells me that Mr. Gerard, the United States Ambassador, and the Counselor of the Embassy have been urgently inquiring to know "where Sir Roger Casement is." The Counselor came to the Foreign Office and the attaché who saw him was told by von Wedel "they did not know!"

[*To be continued*]

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Contemporary American Novelists

By CARL VAN DOREN

XII. FOUR TYPES

FICTION, no less than life, has its broad flats and shallows from which distinction emerges only now and then, when some superior veracity or beauty or energy lifts a novelist or a novel above the mortal average. Consider, for example, the work of Ellen Glasgow. In her representations of contemporary Virginia she long stood with the local colorists, practicing with more grace than strength what has come to seem an older style; in her heroic records of the Virginia of the Civil War and Reconstruction she frequently fell into the orthodox monotone of the historical romancers. By virtue of two noticeable qualities, however, she has in her later books emerged from such levels. One of these qualities is her sense for the texture of life, which imparts to "The Miller of Old Church" a thickness of atmosphere well above that of most of the local color novels. She has admitted into her story various classes of society which traditional Virginia fiction regularly neglects; she has enriched her narrative with fresh and sweet descriptions of the soft Virginia landscape; she has bound her plot together with the best of all ligatures—intelligence. If certain of her characters—Abel Revercomb, Reuben Merryweather, Betsy Bottom—seem at times a little too much like certain of Thomas Hardy's rustics, still the resemblance is hardly greater than that which actually exists between parts of Virginia and Wessex; Miss Glasgow is at least as faithful to her scene as if she had devoted herself solely to a chronicle of rich planters, poor whites, and obeisant freedmen. Without any important sacrifice of reality she has enlarged her material by lifting it toward the plane of the pastoral and rounding it out with poetic abundance instead of whittling it down with provincial shrewdness or weakening it with village sentimentalism. That she does not lack shrewdness appears from the evidences in "Life and Gabriella" and still more in "Virginia" of her second distinctive quality—a critical attitude toward the conventions of her locality. In one Miss Glasgow exhibits a modern Virginia woman breaking her medieval shell in New York; in the other she examines the subsequent career of a typical Southern heroine launched into life with no equipment but loveliness and innocence. Loveliness, Virginia finds, may fade and innocence may become a nuisance if wisdom happens to be needed. She fails to understand and eventually to "hold" her husband; she gives herself so completely to her children that in the end she has nothing left for herself and is tragically dispensable to them. "Virginia" is at once the most thorough and the most pathetic picture extant of the American woman as Victorianism conceived and shaped and misfitted her. But the book is much more than a tract for feminism to point to: it is unexpectedly full and civilized, packed with observation, tinctured with omen and irony.

If Miss Glasgow emerges considerably—though not immensely—above the deadly levels of fiction, so does William Allen White. What lifts him is his hearty, bubbling energy. He has the courage of all his convictions, of all his sentiments, of all his laughter, of all his tears. He has a multitude of "right" instincts and "sound" feelings, and he habitually reverts to them in the intervals between his stricter hours of thought. Such stricter hours he is far from lacking. They address themselves especially to the task of showing why and how corruption works in politics and of tracing those effects of private greed which ruin souls and torture societies. The hero-villains of "A Certain Rich Man" and of "In the Heart of a Fool" tread all the paths of selfishness and come to hard ends in punishment for the offense of counting the head higher than the heart. These books being crowded with quite obvious doctrine, it is fair to say of them that they directly inculcate the life of simple human virtues and services and accuse the grosser American standards of success. They do this important thing within the limits of moralism, progressivism, and optimism. John Barclay, the rich man, when his evil course is run, hastily, unconvincingly divests himself of his spoils and loses his life in an heroic accident. Thomas Van Dorn, the fool, finally arrives at desolation because there has been no God in his heart, but he has no more instructive background for a contrast to folly than the spectacle of a nation entering the World War with what is here regarded as a vast purgation, a magnificent assertion of the divinity in mankind. How such a conclusion withers in the light and fire of time! "Right" instincts and "sound" feelings are not, after all, enough for a novelist: somewhere in his work there must appear an intelligence undiverted by even the kindliest intentions; much as he must be of his world, he must be also in some degree outside it as well as above it. Yet to be of his world with such knowledge as Mr. White has of Kansas gives him one kind of distinction if not a different kind. His two longer narratives sweep epically down from the days of settlement to the time when the frontier order disappeared under the pressure of change. He has a moving erudition in the history and characters and motives and humors of the small inland town; no one has ever known more about the outward customs and behaviors of an American state than Mr. White. His shorter stories not less than his novels are racy with actualities: he has caught the dialect of his time and place with an ear that is singularly exact; he has cut the costumes of his men and villages so that hardly a wrinkle shows. In particular he understands the pathos of boyhood, seen not so much, however, through the serious eyes of boys themselves as through the eyes of reminiscent men reflecting upon young joys and griefs that will shortly be left behind and upon little pomps that can never come to anything. "The Court of Boyville" is now hilariously comic, now tenderly elegiac. None of Mr. White's contemporaries has quite his power to shift from bursts of laughter to sudden, agreeable tears. That flood of moods and words upon which he can be swept beyond the full control of his analytical faculties is but a symptom of the energy which, when he turns to narrative, sweeps him and his readers out of pedestrian gaits.

By comparison the more critical Ernest Poole suffers from a deficiency of both verve and humor. He began his career with the happy discovery of a picturesque, untrodden neighborhood of New York City in "The Harbor"; he consolidated his reputation with the thoughtful study of a troubled father of troubling daughters in "His Family"; since then he has sounded no new chords, strumming on

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his instrument as if magic had deserted him. Perhaps it was not quite magic by which his work originally won its hearing. There is something a little unmagical, a little mechanical, about the fancy which personifies the harbor of New York and makes it recur and reverberate throughout that first novel. The matter was significant, but the manner seems only at times spontaneous and at times only industrious. Intelligence, ideas, observations, perception—these hold up well in "The Harbor"; it is poetry that flags, though poetry is invoked to carry out the pattern. Over humor Mr. Poole has but moderate power, as he has perhaps but moderate interest in it: his characters are themselves either fiercely or sadly serious, and they are seen with an eye which has not quite the forgiveness of laughter or the pity of disillusion. Roger Gale in "His Family" broods, mystified, over what seems to him the drift of his daughters into the furious currents of a new age. Yet they fall into three categories—with some American reservations—of mother, nun, courtesan, about which there is nothing new; and all the tragic elements of the book are almost equally ancient. Without the spacious vision which sees eternities in hours, "His Family" contents itself too much with being a document upon a particular hour of history. It has more kindliness than criticism. Mr. Poole, one hates to have to say, is frequently rather less than serious: he is earnest; at moments he is hardly better than merely solemn. Nevertheless, "The Harbor" and "His Family"—"His Family" easily the better of the two—are novels decisively above the common run, excellent documents upon a generation. Mr. Poole feels the earth reeling beneath the desperate feet of men; he sees the millions who are hopelessly bewildered; he hears the cries of rage and fear coming from those who foretell chaos; he catches the exaltation of those who imagine that after so long a shadow the sunshine of freedom and justice will shortly break upon them. With many generous expectations he waits for the revolution which shall begin the healing of the world's wounds. Meanwhile he paints the dissolving lineaments of the time in colors which his own softness keeps from being very stern or very deep but which are gentle and appealing.

The peculiar strength and the peculiar weakness of Henry Blake Fuller lie in his faithful habit of being a dilettante. A generation ago, when the aesthetic poets and critics were in bloom, Mr. Fuller in "The Chevalier of Pensieri-Vani" and "The Chatelaine of La Trinité" played with sentimental pilgrimages in Italy or the Alps, packing his narratives with the most affectionate kind of archaeology and yet forever scrutinizing them with a Yankee smile. A little later, when Howells's followers had become more numerous, Mr. Fuller joined them with minute, accurate, amused representations of Chicago in "The Cliff-Dwellers" and "With the Procession." Then, as if bored with longer flights, he settled himself to writing sharp-eyed stories concerning the life of art as conducted in Chicago—"Under the Skylights"—and of Americans traveling in Europe—"From the Other Side," "Waldo Trench and Others." After "Spoon River Anthology" Mr. Fuller took such hints from its method as he needed in the pungent dramatic sketches of "Lines Long and Short." One of these sketches, called Postponement, has autobiography, it may be guessed, in its ironic, wistful record of a Midwestern American who all his life longed and planned to live in Europe, but who found himself ready to gratify his desire only in the dread summer of 1914, when peace departed from the earth to stay away, he saw, at least as long as he could hope to live. Some curious fate, if not some curious fatalism, in Mr. Fuller has kept this dreamer about old lands always resident in the noisiest city of the newest land. Had there been more passion in his constitution he might, perhaps, have either detached himself from Chicago altogether or submerged himself in it to a point of reconciliation. But passion is precisely what Mr. Fuller seems to lack or to be chary of. He dwells above the furies. As one consequence his books, interesting as every one of them is, suffer from the absence of emphasis. His utterance comes in the tone of an intelligent drawl. Spiritually in exile, he lives somewhat unconcerned with the drama of existence surrounding him, as if his gaze were farther off. Yet though deficiency in passion has made Mr. Fuller an amateur, it has allowed him the longest tether in the exercise of a free, penetrating intelligence. He is not lightly jostled out of his equilibrium by petty irritations or swept off his feet by those torrents of ready emotion which sweep through popular fiction by their own momentum. Whenever, in "A Daughter of the Middle Border," Hamlin Garland brings Mr. Fuller into his story, there is communicated the sense of a vivid intellect somehow keeping its counsel and yet throwing off rays of suggestion and illumination. Without much question it is by his critical faculties that Mr. Fuller excels. He has the poetic energy to construct, but less frequently to create. Such endowments invite him to the composition of memoirs. Suppose he were to write the history of the arts and letters in Chicago! Suppose he were, rather more confidingly, to trace the career of an attentive dilettante in that thunderous town!

In the Driftway

MOST persons in this civilized world have to go hunting for curious adventures, but to the Drifter they come almost without search—though he would not have it for one moment thought that he is not capable of hunting in dull seasons. Only last night, as he was standing in a great union station where crowds of people stream by at all hours of the day and night, he was joined by a pleasant rogue who almost without a parley began to tell of a career too singular not to be recorded in the Drifter's notebook. It seems that the rogue makes that his particular terrain, spending as much of his time as he can spare from sleep or food or pleasure on the lookout for objects which may be dropped by passengers hurrying to and from their trains. Now it is a cuff-link, now a scarf-pin, now a bracelet loosened in the crush; occasionally a bill slips unobserved to the tiled floor; on great occasions a whole purse falls into the attentive hand of the pleasant rogue. Only a week or so ago, he said, he had found one containing $57. So far no one has ever seen him pick up any of these welcome trifles, but if he were to be detected he would explain that he was on his way to the office for lost and found articles, and he would possibly receive some sort of reward. He is by no means unwilling to turn an honester penny when the chance offers. Frequently he guides some worried stranger to his train or to the street, and gets a fee which is better than nothing. He is no pedant or moralist and does not care how a dollar comes. "They make all the dollars at the same mint," he said, not quite accurately; "and they all look alike to me."

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So accurate a gleaner is also a good economist. When he wants a meal, he told the Drifter, he scorns to enrich the restaurateurs. He and a friend go into some eating place and sit down side by side at table or counter. One of them orders a substantial feast and the other a cup of coffee and a sandwich, each taking care not to show any sign of being acquainted with the other. When the full feeder has had enough he takes the smaller check, presents it at the desk, and vanishes. When it comes time for the accomplice to depart, he picks up the larger check and makes an angry protest. There before him are the dishes to prove what he has eaten. The waiter can do nothing but curse the absentee and issue another check. Then the pleasant rogue goes out, rejoins his friend, seeks out another restaurant, and repeats the trick with the roles now changed. "No, sir," said the pleasant rogue, "I never pay more than fifteen cents for a square meal in this town. And I won't while the beaneries hold out." Naturally the two do not return to the same place a second time.

* * * * *

WHAT an obliging oyster this world is! What a chance there is for clever fellows to open it without much work! With how fresh an interest the pleasant rogue must begin each day, sure it can never be like the last! To live always on the alert, matching one's wits against the civic universe, levying taxes on stupidity or accident, collecting them, and pocketing the whole sum! The Drifter has finally found another occupation that for the moment seems as fascinating as his own. THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Santa Claus Scraps the Tin Soldier?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have been much impressed by the change in the character of toys exhibited in the shops this year. Whereas last year the chief exhibits consisted of toy cannons, battleships, and games of trench warfare, this year these things are blessedly conspicuous by their absence. I thought perhaps I had merely not investigated thoroughly enough until someone said to me today: "There are no tin soldiers in the shops this year." I felt that perhaps the situation was really significantly hopeful—or hopefully significant (take your choice).

If the Conference on the Limitation of Armaments does nothing more than convince the toy makers that militaristic playthings will not sell well this year, it has done something!

And if Santa Claus has had a genuine change of heart one may begin to dream more hopefully of the time when "nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more."

New York, December 2 VERA CAMPBELL DARR

Good-Will Toward Men

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: At a meeting of the New York Group of the Fellowship of Reconciliation on Tuesday, December 6, 1921, at which more than one hundred members were present, the following resolution was unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That we express to the Conference on the Limitation of Armament our belief that our safety and welfare as a nation will be increased in proportion as we eliminate all forms of military and naval armament and substitute for them the constructive force of good-will exercised through all commercial, industrial, governmental, and other relationships.

As a practical step to this substitution we approve the American proposal for scrapping battleships and urge that it be extended to include the abolition of submarines and the outlawing of poison gas. Furthermore, we ask that the American delegation aid in securing the withdrawal of all outside privileges or concessions in China which would or do limit the sovereignty of the Chinese nation. And we ask that an agreement be made that in any extension of credit to China in the future no such concessions to any national or private interests be required. We also urge that it be the declared American policy that all of our citizens visiting or doing business in any foreign territory are subject to the laws, courts, and protection of the country in which they are visiting or doing business, as respects life, welfare, or property, and that we will reserve no jurisdiction in respect to them or their affairs under such circumstances.

We also ask further for the establishment of such an association of all nations, including Germany and Russia, as shall carry the above principles into effect.

New York, December 8 J. N. SAYRE

Poor France!

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your readers may be interested in information which I find in *The Nation and the Athenaeum* of November 12. Article 3 of the French Draft Mandate for Togo and the Cameroons reads as follows: "The mandatory shall . . . not organize any native military force except for local police purposes and for the defence of the territory."

This is apparently a condescension "in principle" to the requirements of international decency; but as soon as these requirements were satisfied on paper the authors of the French Draft Mandate found themselves at liberty to continue: "It is understood, however, that the troops thus raised may, in event of a general war, be utilized to repulse an attack or for defense of the territory outside that over which the mandate is administered."

Thus France may some day proclaim a state of "general war" (international law knows of no such thing as a "general war") and invade a European state with her semi-barbarian armies. Briand will soon be able to afford to disarm France proper entirely, provided he be given the opportunity to introduce compulsory conscription in Africa, Madagascar, Indo-China, Oceania, and on Mount Everest even—in the name of civilization. Poor France!

New York, December 5 GREGORY ZILBOORG

A Professor's Dismissal

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: There is some reason for believing that the curators of the University of Missouri are considering the advisability of reopening the case of George L. Clark's dismissal from the faculty of that institution's law school, which has attracted attention among lawyers in this part of the country. The case, in certain aspects without precedent, is also being investigated by the American Association of University Professors. In November, 1920, Clark, a lawyer, a doctor of juridical science from Harvard, and a teacher for eighteen years, was dismissed by the curators from his professorship of law for three alleged delinquencies: (1) Disloyalty to the president of the university, (2) distrust by students in his fairness, and (3) declining usefulness as a teacher. Clark was given no opportunity to defend himself. Indeed he was not informed of the charges, directly or indirectly, until after the dismissal and the reasons were made a matter of public record.

Clark had a contract with the university running until September, 1921. If the curators had the right to dismiss at all, they had the right to cut off the salary. If they had cut off the salary, Clark could have sued the university, alleging breach of contract, and then the validity of the curators' charges would have been subjected to judicial investigation. For some unex-

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plained reason the curators continued to pay the salary in full until the end of the contract period, although Clark had been dismissed publicly and was not permitted to teach. At the expense of taxpayers a substitute was hired to do his work. The payment of the salary made it impossible for Clark to sue the university, for he could not prove legal damages.

Among many lawyers who protested against the dismissal of Clark on specified grounds without a hearing were two former deans of the law school, the venerable John D. Lawson (who died a few weeks ago), and Eldon R. James, now legal adviser to the Government of Siam stationed at Washington. The present dean, J. P. McBaine, although admitting that he regards the dismissal as merited, is careful in explaining that he never advised a dismissal without a hearing.

Since Clark's dismissal a new Governor of Missouri, Arthur M. Hyde, has taken office, some changes have been made in the personnel of the curators, and the former president of the university has submitted his resignation, which was accepted as of October 15, 1921. The new occupant of the president's chair is a man who does not possess that kind of dominating personality which is so highly prized by languid curators, but who does possess wisdom and tact, a kind heart and common sense.

It is an open secret that Governor Hyde has taken more than a casual interest in the Clark case. This is not surprising because Governor Hyde is a typical American lawyer. Their worst enemies never accuse typical American lawyers of ignoring what the Federal Supreme Court has called "a principle of natural justice"—the principle that no man should be condemned without a hearing.

St. Louis, November 10 TYRRELL WILLIAMS

Boycott of Pacifist Minister

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The Commission on International Justice and Good Will of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America has issued a pamphlet advocating a "sweeping reduction of armaments." It contains A Call to Prayer and Consecration, addressed To all who love our Lord Jesus Christ, in which the following sentences appear: "War is an unmitigated curse to humanity and a denial of the Christian Gospel. Let us declare plainly that in every war the Son of Man is put to shame anew and that every battlefield is a Calvary on which Christ is crucified afresh."

Now that is exactly what I said about war in April, 1917, in consequence whereof I was forced out of my pastorate of the Unitarian Church in Melrose, Massachusetts. It seems reasonable to think that what is true of war today must have been true of war in 1917. Yet although it is almost three years since the armistice I am still virtually blacklisted by Unitarian churches!

The following letter deserves preservation as an interesting document of the period:

Hopedale Unitarian Parish
Hopedale, Mass.

Dec. 6, 1918.

MR. HENRY W. PINKHAM,
263 Bowdoin Street, Winthrop, Mass.

Your letter of 4th received and contents noted. I am surprised that you have the effrontery, before the echoes of the bells and whistles celebrating the armistice have hardly ceased vibration, to suggest filling our Unitarian pulpit. You say, "Now that the war is over, the fact that I am a pacifist no longer bars me from Unitarian pulpits, I trust I am justified in assuming." If you are not barred from any and all Unitarian pulpits, it is a reflection upon the Unitarian denomination as a whole, and upon the officials of the American Unitarian Association and its constitution and by-laws. I am but one member of our local Unitarian Parish Standing Committee, but would personally prefer to see the church closed and rot down than open it to ex-ministers like you who disgrace the Unitarian denomination, and all loyal ministers of every kind, by their white-livered propaganda and cheap attempts at notoriety. Among the towns of the State, Hopedale has an enviable record for loyalty and patriotism; it was the home of the late Governor Draper, also a former vice-president of the American Unitarian Association. Most assuredly Hopedale will *not* be the first place to advertise you and your yellow-journal views to the public. Had the millions of loyal people of this country followed your lead and advice, the suffering Belgians and others of the foreign allies would have long since passed under the iron heel of the unspeakable Huns, and this country would have been reduced to a German province. Should we accede to your request we could never look in the face the boys whose names are on our Parish Roll of Honor, when those who have survived return from France. Ex-ministers of your ilk should either be employed at hard labor in the Government prisons or be subject of a Commission de lunatico inquirendo. Again, let me repeat *there is no opening for you at Hopedale* and the only service you can render is to keep out of sight and hearing. FRANK J. DUTCHER

P. S.—The first sentence of your letter bears out your usual inaccuracy, the war is *not yet over*.

Two years after Mr. Dutcher's rebuke I ventured to advertise for a position. The *Christian Register* refused my copy, the advertising manager writing me: "All our advertisements must receive editorial sanction and must contain nothing derogatory to the church. Consequently, we are returning your copy." To my inquiry of Editor Dieffenbach, who during the war was very zealous for the slaughter of German fellow-men, if he regarded it as "derogatory to the church" to refer to the undeniable fact that the church had supported the war, he made no reply. Accordingly, I sent my advertisement to the *Transcript* which printed it November 6, 1920, and kindly forgot to send me a bill therefor. It was as follows:

I seek opportunities to preach and should like a pastorate. I refer, without permission, to any Unitarian minister that knows me and to any member of the Unitarian churches in Scituate and in Marshfield Hills—for which I preached some months—and in Melrose, of which I was the minister from April, 1915, to July, 1917, when a majority of the parish would not longer tolerate my opposition to war. I opposed the last war, I shall oppose the next war. But I think that *between wars* I can serve a Unitarian church acceptably.

Brookline, Massachusetts, November 1 HENRY W. PINKHAM

To Increase Salaries at Vassar

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your editorial of about a month ago called attention to the low salary scale of Vassar instructors and professors. May I add that the $3,000,000, for which Vassar is now striving, is to be used solely to increase these salaries? According to the new scale, full professors will receive from $4,000 to $5,000 as against the present maximum of $3,600 a year. A corresponding increase will be made for all instructors and assistants at the college.

It was at first hoped that Vassar might secure the full three million by November 12. The two million mark has, however, only just been passed. Unexpected difficulties have been encountered. The effect of the threatened railroad strike, though temporary, was far reaching, and business conditions are still uncertain. This makes the raising of the money all the more difficult, but is a challenge to all those who believe in education and in the equal ability of men and women to share its benefits.

Poughkeepsie, New York, November 17 MARGARET BLISS

Contributors to This Issue

VINCENT ANDERSON is an American journalist, recently returned from a long residence in India.

HELENA NORMANTON is an Englishwoman, formerly editor of *India*.

LAJPAT RAI is an Indian, formerly president of the National Congress, author of "England's Debt to India."

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Books

Antichrist and the Five Apostles

The Free Lance Books. Edited with Introductions by H. L. Mencken. *Youth and Egolatry.* By Pio Baroja.—*Ventures in Common Sense.* By E. W. Howe.—*The Antichrist.* By F. W. Nietzsche.—*We Moderns.* By Edwin Muir.—*Democracy and the Will to Power.* By James N. Wood. Alfred A. Knopf. $2 each.

H. L. MENCKEN once called himself a liaison officer between the American intelligentsia and European ideas, but he is something much more impassioned than that. He is a sort of heathen missionary zealously endeavoring to convert the barbarian Christians away from the false gods of Humility and Restraint, and his method is the method of the popular evangelist who expounds the Sermon on the Mount in the vocabulary of slang. Like Billy Sunday he preaches in his shirt-sleeves and any furniture about the platform is in danger of a smashing. The only essential difference is that Mr. Mencken knows what he is talking about. When he has finished, Nietzsche is still recognizably Nietzsche, while as much cannot be said for Mr. Sunday's Christ.

This also Mr. Mencken has in common with the popular preacher; his real genius is for denunciation. Words and phrases of gorgeous contempt like "boob-bumper," "spy-hunter," "emotion-pumper," and "propaganda-monger" flow readily from his pen, and a sort of immoral indignation is his specialty. Above all else, he is generally surer of what he doesn't want than of what he does. Let any man attack "the boobery" with sufficient violence, be it in the cause of naturalism, of aestheticism, of the aristocracy, or, as in the case of E. W. Howe, of mere common sense, and that man is Mr. Mencken's friend, for he is far too much interested in the slaying of Philistines to care whose jaw-bone it is done with. Thus he can welcome the naturalism of Theodore Dreiser because it outrages the populace, and he can welcome Edwin Muir's denunciation of naturalism because that denunciation does not proceed upon an ethical basis.

Whatever in Mr. Mencken's creed is not negative comes from Nietzsche, and consciously or unconsciously he has pretty well confined himself to the Nietzschean in selecting the volumes for his Free Lance series. All are full of protest, but they have more in common than this, and the promise that "no point of view which is sincere and intelligible will be excluded" has not so far been kept, though there is no reason, of course, why it should be. Each of the books is a gospel, and they might all be bound together in one book without offering more difficulty to the synthesizer than is offered, let us say, by the books of the two Testaments. To be a Free Lance is not only to be egotistical and intransigent; it is to raise egotism and intransigency to the position of a creed. All, with the exception of E. W. Howe, have confessedly fallen under the spell of Nietzsche, and the Naumburg Antichrist has taught them that anti-respectability need not be mere defiance. Your Baudelaires and your Swinburnes traded upon the thrill of wickedness and paid their respects to conventional virtues by worshiping sin, but the post-Nietzscheans disdain self-conscious naughtiness. By the familiar process heresy has become orthodoxy, and pride, self-assertion, and egotism, ceasing to be gorgeous sins, have become the true virtues.

Even E. W. Howe, that astounding provincial philosopher who is furthest from the norm of the series, is a Nietzsche *manqué.* Of sentiment and of outward deference to morality and tradition merely because they are morality and tradition he has as little as Mr. Mencken himself, and he is as impatient as Nietzsche at sentimental deference to weakness and incompetence. He has little fault to find with any part of the world except those who would make it better, and though he is not ferocious his general assumption is that the under dog is just where he belongs. If you haven't what you want, he suggests that you try to get it and that if you cannot you had best not look for sympathy, because it is probably your own fault anyway. He rails constantly at the assumption that there is anything necessarily or inherently good in humility or poverty, and his constant insistence upon the superiority of the man who does something over the dreamer or philosopher may be seen, upon translation into the Nietzschean lingo, to be nothing more than a shrewd rustic preference for the Dionysian over the Apollonian. It happens that his ideal of the man who does something is the man who runs a business or improves a plow rather than the Nietzschean ideal of a man reaching up to a plane of activity removed from the ordinary business of feeding and propagating, but the difference is largely the result of environment. Nourish an intransigent individualism and a hatred of sentimental incompetence upon German metaphysics and you get Nietzsche; nourish it upon American materialistic common sense and you get Howe.

In the reading of "Ventures in Common Sense" there are more of those internal chuckles which come with the appreciation of a clean thrust well delivered than in the reading of any of the other books of the Free Lance series, and the series cannot perform a better service to American literature than to gain a wider audience for Mr. Howe's intellectual honesty. That this Kansas philosopher can flout certain traditional American assumptions and still remain so completely American is explained partly by certain limitations of his own and partly by a traditional American inconsistency. Things which are fundamentally American as distinguished from those which are only sentimentally such are bred in his bone. Honesty, industry, hustle are as dear to him as they were to Franklin, and by no possible philosophy could he be led away from his instinctive admiration for the simple virtues. There is nothing in his preference for results over intentions, for a comfortable house over fine ideas, and for a substantial success over a romantic or intangible one that is not and has not always been typically American. His originality consists solely in the frankness with which he admits his materialism and in the clearness of expression which he attains by refusing to veil or to mix his practical philosophy with religion, or with sentiment. Paying no lip-service to vague idealism, he writes: "Women are more chaste than men because lack of chastity is less dangerous for men than for women. The strongest motive back of every safe, sane, and respectable man and woman is not principle, but selfishness." And there is nothing in this to shock except its honesty. In general, it may be said that Howe preaches what ninty-nine out of a hundred Americans practice.

Pio Baroja speaks much of Nietzsche, and he toyed with his philosophy, but in the end the doctrine of the Antichrist proved too strenuous for the artistic temperament of the Spaniard and after using Nietzscheism to free himself from current restraints he relapsed into aestheticism and cast his lot with the Apollonians. Of the remaining three books, one is by Nietzsche himself and the other two are merely highly interesting corollaries to his philosophy—Edwin Muir meditating upon its literary and spiritual implications and James Wood using it as the basis for a vicious critique of the democratic form of government.

Whatever else may be said of their philosophy or of the source from which they draw it, it cannot be said that Nietzsche was without a very strenuous idealism or that he evolved his destructive critique of Christianity merely to make the world safe for either aesthetes like Baroja or for common-sense materialists like Mr. Howe. It is no paradox to say that whatever his vagaries he has reaffirmed what humanitarianism as well as many other modern philosophies were in danger of forgetting, and that is that man does not live by bread alone. In the introduction to "We Moderns" Mr. Mencken writes: "One cannot read some of the modern medical literature, particularly on the side of public hygiene, without giving one's sym-

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pathy to the tubercle bacilli and the spirochaetae. Science of that sort ceases to be a fit concern for superior men, gentlemen; it becomes a concern for evangelists, uplifters, bounders. Its aim is no longer to penetrate the impenetrable, to push forward the bounds of human knowledge, to overreach the sinister trickeries of God; its aim is simply to lengthen the lives of human ciphers and to reinforce their delusions that they confer a favor upon the universe by living at all. Worse, it converts the salvation of such vacuums into a moral obligation, and sets up the absurd doctrine that human progress is furthered by diminishing the death-rate in the Balkans, by rescuing Georgia crackers from the hookworm, and by reducing the whole American people, the civilized minority with the barbarian mass, to a race of teetotaling ascetics, full of pious indignation and Freudian suppressions." The essential thing behind this exercise in exaggeration and the essential thing behind the Nietzschean philosophy of Mr. Muir and Mr. Wood is not the callous contempt for humanity but the appreciation of something essentially noble—of knowledge, of power, and of fortitude cultivated for their own sakes—and a contempt for an exclusive concern with the material comforts of man.

To the truly aspiring spirit mere mortality has always seemed vile. The medieval Christian looked to the glory of heaven, and only with the decay of Christianity came the religion of humanity—the idea, that is, that though to care exclusively for one's own food and raiment was vile, to care for everybody's food and raiment was somehow, through mere magnitude, noble. Nietzscheism is a reaffirmation of faith in excellence itself, in greatness as distinct from a mere aggregation of littlenesses. Its contempt for the mob was born not of wanton cruelty but of a spiritual craving for genuine greatness and a disgust with scientific materialism which found the highest human activity in the provision of health and comfort for the greatest number.

Christian humility was originally a species of hero-worship; it was an abasement before the power and glory of God. Humanitarianism, gradually relinquishing God, has fixed its worship not upon the glory but upon the humility, and invented the most meaningless of phrases, "the divine average," as though there were something essentially excellent in the mere lack of excellence. From Nietzscheism one may at least learn that while to abase oneself before God may be tolerable, to abase oneself before abasement is to deny excellence and thus to commit the suicide of the soul. If the God of humanity is to be man, then humanity must worship not the average but the godlike man.

Humanitarianism, the most characteristic product of the materialistic age, may not only be accused of applying the merely quantitative standard in the measurement of human values, but may be seen also as a hatred of life itself because it seeks by alleviation and equalization to diminish life's intensity. It would, if possible, abolish tragedy and hence belittle life, because suffering is an essential part of man's grandeur. When Mr. Santayana recently attempted to solve the problem of evil by saying that contemplation was the greatest good and that since evil was, equally with good, material for contemplation, he was expounding the Nietzschean view on the passive side. To the Nietzschean life is the only good, and since suffering and happiness are equally intense forms of life, suffering is good. Thomas Hardy, says Mr. Muir, "sets out in his books to prove that life is a mean blunder; and, in spite of himself, the tragedy of this blunder becomes in his hands splendid and impressive, so that life is enriched even while it is defamed. Art . . . refutes his pessimism and turns his curses into involuntary blessings." The modern, robbed of God and of heaven, can prevent the world from shrinking into intolerable pettiness only by worshiping the noble in man and the sublime in life.

That new world beside whose birth-bed Matthew Arnold sat agonizing has been an unconscionable time in getting itself born. Certainly no "new world" in the sense which he meant has come into being, for the year 1921 is still a part of that period of questioning of which he spoke and has as few certitudes as the year 1855. Three points of view are current: there is aestheticism, there is the scientific optimism of the socialist-ameliorist group, and there is the excellence-worship of the Nietzschean aristocracy. The first is obviously sterile and parasitic. The second offers little beyond a general leveling, and promises no way in which anybody can be better than many now are. It invites us simply, if we cannot be satisfied with mere food and raiment, to do as the two castaways did in W. H. Mallock's "The New Paul and Virginia" when they found drinking an insufficiently noble pleasure. They, it may be remembered, decided to call it altruism—each being happy over the champagne which the other drank. Nietzscheism offers at least an ideal of the glorified man which is more attractive than the humanitarian ideal of well-fed mediocrity. It reestablishes the idea of excellence as a goal, and if it is cruel, cruelty is no more than a scientific age has been led to expect.

J. W. KRUTCH

The Sanctity of Life

The Outcast. By Selma Lagerlöf. London: Gyldendal.

IF the world is ever to know peace, life must come to be invested with the same sacredness we now accord to death. If men are to cease from strife, they must come to abhor the taking of life even more than they do the thought of desecrating the dead. This fundamental necessity, which is all too little realized, is the gospel of "The Outcast," and Selma Lagerlöf would seem peculiarly adapted to drive it home. Her power, her sincerity, her dramatic realism are splendid tools for the service of weaning the world from the lure of war and dispelling the illusions of its glory, and she uses them with a depth and sincerity of purpose that all her other work would lead us to expect. But for all this, she has failed to achieve a great book in "The Outcast," a failure poignantly regrettable from the urgent necessity and greatness of its message.

The opening chapters are powerfully dramatic, too much so, one feels, for the level to be able to be kept up. Throughout the first part of the book she grips us with as strong a hold as in the best of her work. The style, even in translation, is lean and virile, the characters live and breathe without undue description. Thereafter, though, the tempo changes, and events are harnessed into sequence with too little regard for their probability to be convincing. If only Sven Elversson, Sigrun, and the Pastor could have been allowed to work out their own destinies! Instead, we seem to see their author in the background moving them about at will, at times even wrenching them into place to carry out her plans. And thus, instead of an epic tale of ostracization with effective climax, we have a story which relinquishes rather than increases its hold upon our interest through a somewhat forced series of events.

In the person of the Outcast, Selma Lagerlöf has drawn a character which, banned for a supposed sin against the dead, becomes, not bitter and perverse, but infinitely gentle and humble under the affliction. As his mother says of him: "To my mind, the boy's like one of the stones that lie down on the shore, and always being rolled about by the waves. He's got worn and smooth from all the hard knocks he's got, till there's not a sharp edge nor a corner anywhere." The hardness and brutality of the individuals who go to make up a self-respecting small community, the heavy punishment their sense of righteousness continuously inflicts on one whom they shun and abhor as beneath contempt, are very much the same the world over. Sven Elversson's mother sums them up well. "Full to the brim with faith and righteousness, till there's no room for a drop of mercy in them." Ultimately, the grim tragedy of the war pressing in closely on their lives stirs their hearts, brings to fruition the seeds of good sown by the Outcast, and leads them to a truer perspective.

Into the making of this story go the forces of love, jealousy, mysticism, and a surpassing charity which the central figure

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forges as a tool from out the odium of his days. Many shrewd flashes of insight into character and motivation are touched in with a delicacy which yet accords with the rough-hewn character of the whole. And the book is further beautified by those occasional descriptive passages in which Selma Lagerlöf always lets us look through her eyes at land and sea and feel the Swedish atmosphere about us. It is not a war story; its appeal might be more compelling if it was. As it is, the final chapters on the tragedy the sea reveals are too extraneous to the story to be as effective as they might be, coming as they do when the emotional climax has been reached. Of all artistic gifts, that of construction seems to be the rarest. Purpose and plot must be so deftly and inextricably intermingled for art to take on the true semblance of life. Yet aside from criticism in their relation to the novel, these final chapters are memorable in themselves.

The little coast towns are preparing for the annual influx of summer visitors. They are expected from the land, but many come uninvited from the sea. It is the summer of 1916. First the fishermen come home distraught, having met visitors in thousands, strewn thickly over the surface of the water. Dead Englishmen, dead Germans, upheld by lifebelts, their bloated bodies bobbing together in the troughs of the waves, turning now this way and now that with arms extended or upraised, and with staring empty sockets where their eyes have been picked out by the gulls. Grim messengers of horror, of warning, silent interpreters of the folly and futility of the great curse. They are swept ashore in shoals, or enmeshed in the nets among the gleaming fish, and the Swedish folk accord them Christian burial.

Then it is that the Pastor, speaking after such an event, pleads for service against the tyranny of Death, pleads for Life. Life, that "has been only the poor handmaiden at the service of all, asking nothing for itself. Life has been just the daily bread that was eaten as it were without a thought!" And he bids his people not to turn from the horror that has come to them, not to seek to wipe it from their minds, nor ever to forget the pity and anguish occasioned by the ghastly sights, but to "bring the knowledge of these things to others, so that they too may feel unconquerable abhorrence at the very mention of war." For: "In a few years, the memory of this war's sorrow and agony and destruction may be forgotten, and a new generation may once more set out to war with the joy of battle in their hearts. It lies with us now to fix in the minds of all humanity so great a horror of war that no talk of glory and brave deeds can ever take its place."

B. U. Burke

Interpreting the Bible

Essays in Biblical Interpretation. By Henry Preserved Smith. Marshall Jones Company. $3.

HAPPILY for the wholesome development of the Christian Church, the literature dealing with the principles of Biblical interpretation has been increasing of late. Books treating of this subject from the historical and scientific point of view are sorely needed. As in all times of great crisis through the Christian era, various forms of adventist speculation, based upon erroneous theories of the Bible and its interpretation, have had a rank growth during the past seven years and have done their part, along with the prevalent diseas d nationalism, to choke the more nutritious fruits of the Christian spirit. In his informing and pleasantly written series of "Essays" Professor Henry Preserved Smith conducts the reader along the general course of the history of interpretation from the earliest times to the present. While the book is descriptive rather than argumentative in form, yet there is an implied argument running throughout. It is that the older allegorical and dogmatic methods of interpretation are tragic anachronisms, creating an atmosphere of unreality in the religious life of today, and leading almost inevitably to current Apocalyptical Vagaries, to an exposition of which the last chapter of the book is devoted.

The allegories of ancient Jew and Christian are illustrated by well-chosen examples, but the reader is apt to draw an incorrect inference from them as to the mental ability of these early expounders of Scripture. Something more is needed than the cautions on pp. 52 and 56 to set the allegorical method of interpretation in its true perspective as the scientific method of handling sacred books in ancient times. The use of the allegory by Scholasticism as its tool, the initial rejection of this tool by Luther, and the many developments in the centuries since the Reformation which culminate in the work of Wellhausen, are all touched upon. But Mr. Smith does rather scant justice to the significance of Calvin, who occupies a most honorable position as an interpreter of Scripture. On the other hand, it is a good thing for the sake of the general reader, for whom these "Essays" seem to be mainly written to devote a chapter to the famous case of Bishop Colenso, the Anglican missionary bishop of South Africa, who was led to critical results through the simple questions of a Zulu convert!

The two longest chapters of the book deal with the triumph of the allegory in ancient times and with characteristic specimens of the historical interpretation from the general point of view of the Wellhausen school in modern times. The great differences both in method and results in the two periods are thus thrown into high relief. Of course the Wellhausen insistence upon the originality of the prophetic movement is emphasized. It may be added that many people do not even yet understand what a spiritual meaning underlies the work of this great scholar, whose death during the war was so little noticed among us. In beginning with Prophecy rather than with the Law, Wellhausen started with that movement which is most nearly allied to Christianity. Traditional views have always shown a disposition to revert to the Law in the interest of theocratic theories and speculations as to the Atonement. But the Law is much more closely allied to primitive religion than it is to the Christian religion. In taking the work of the prophets as its starting-point, modern Biblical criticism is able much more effectively to establish the spiritual links which indissolubly connect the Old Testament and the New. By showing once again the inevitableness with which the great stream of interpretation has finally emptied into the historical explanation of the Bible, Mr. Smith has done an excellent service to the cause of sound learning in sound religion.

Kemper Fullerton

Drama

Trifles

PARIS has a way of dazzling even the discriminating and of turning the leaves of autumn into gold. Mr. Philip Moeller of the Theater Guild, on his annual pilgrimage, fell in with a group of young Parisians who were founding a "théâtre nouveau" and called it The Wild Duck. From their stage he brought back "La Souriante Madame Beaudet" which under the title "The Wife with a Smile" the Guild has now produced. To a naive American this "wild duck" seems like an excessively tame animal and "The Wife with a Smile" like a rather ordinary French play in which, as in many French plays, a decent amount of solid observation is projected by means of a less decent quantity of theatrical claptrap. The conflict between the sensitive, artistic, and chafing Madame Beaudet and her noisy, good-hearted, devastatingly jolly husband is convincingly set forth. This provincial merchant and this *femme incomprise* are far from new. Nor are they exhibited in a fresh light or explored a degree deeper than has been done before. But their genuineness is not to be questioned. MM. Denys Amiel and André Obey are, however, as eager for an apparently happy ending as any Broadway hack. Hence they carefully "plant" a

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revolver in M. Beaudet's desk and in that gentleman himself a quaint habit of putting the empty weapon facetiously to his temple. Thus, at a moment of violent nervous misery over her husband's antics, Madame Beaudet can load the revolver and, having jeopardized the life of her lord, discover how precious, after all, he is to her. The authors, again quite like our Broadway hacks, forget utterly to consider whether this momentary shock and its emotional consequences will have any effect either upon M. Beaudet's clatter and stupid tyranny or upon Madame Beaudet's sensitiveness. They neglect the fact that there is a morning after. They do not end their action; they merely stop it. With this device—the typical device of the theatric falsification of reality—we are well acquainted. Playwrights that use it simply do not, in the sense of Lemaître, "exist." Paris, I repeat, dazzles even the judicious, who really ought to know better.

Courteline's "Boubouroche," with which the Guild opens its present production, is a far sounder piece of dramatic workmanship—a cold, harsh, vigorous farce of the ancient Gaulois tradition to which the duped husband or lover is an eternal source of bitter mirth. But it is here played gently, benignly, sentimentally. If Boubouroche is not fatuous and Adèle not steely, the point and force of the action is totally lost. Thus we have the curious spectacle of the Theater Guild being beguiled by an indifferent play because it is French and yet not daring to play a French farce of the classical tradition, the tradition that includes "Georges Dandin," upon its own plane and in its own spirit.

In both plays the leading part is taken by Mr. Arnold Daly. He was a great actor once; no doubt he can be one again. Today he has narrowed his art to a set of monotonous mannerisms and gestures: an air of ferocity, racing speed of delivery without clearness, a fatalistic wave of the hand, a stubborn or cruel pursing of the lips. The careful, intelligent, spiritually delicate acting of Blanche Yurka served to set in relief the cool mechanism of Mr. Daly's performance.

As usual, Mr. Belasco has also gone to Paris for a play. But his original selection was a happy one. André Picard's "Kiki" is a character study of delightful freshness, truth, vitality. Nothing could be better of its kind than the figure of Kiki, the little gamine, the gutter-snipe, impudent, corrupt, charming, droll—a liar fundamentally sincere, a child of the streets with a vision of love, a thundering little vulgarian capable of art, beauty, wit. The touches which belong to Mr. Belasco as adapter of the version presented at his theater are, in their own way, quite priceless. Though he lets the ladies of the "Folies Monplaisir" talk the chorus argot of Forty-second Street, which is almost as racy and pungent as its Parisian counterpart, he has taken care to infuse that drop of virtue without which all would, no doubt, be lost. Paulette is made the manager's wife. And she is a bad, flirtatious wife. Kiki, on the other hand, is made to declare, at precisely the right moment, that she is "a good girl." Thus decent nuptials can end the action. But since the essentials are preserved one can afford to smile at these changes.

The part of Kiki is played by Miss Lenore Ulric with a virtuosity, a needle-like sharpness of detail, a creative continuity of surface that are as thoroughly admirable as they are rare. There is nothing great or profound or stirring about the play or the character. But perfection is always beautiful and always tonic to contemplate both for itself and because it is never reached by an easy road. Miss Ulric's playing is perfect. She has made over her body. Every gesture, every step, her very nerves and sinews are drenched with Kiki, are Kiki. She is gay, greedy, harshly practical, romantically silly, impossible and adorable at once. She is as common as mud and as exquisite as a frost crystal. Her work is a miniature masterpiece. It is like one of those porcelain rococo statuettes the curves and hues of which are not less lovely for having been wrought upon a small scale and of a substance more perishable than rock or brass.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

The Nation's Poetry Prize

THE NATION offers an annual poetry prize of $100 for the best poem submitted by an American poet in a contest conducted by *The Nation* each year between Thanksgiving and New Year's Day. The rules for the contest in 1921 are as follows:

1. Each manuscript submitted in the contest must reach the office of *The Nation*, 20 Vesey Street, New York City, not earlier than Friday, November 25, and not later than Saturday, December 31, plainly marked on the outside of the envelope, "For *The Nation's* Poetry Prize."

2. Manuscripts must be typewritten and must have the name of the author in full on each page of the manuscript submitted.

3. As no manuscripts submitted in this contest will in any circumstances be returned to the author it is unnecessary to inclose return postage. An acknowledgment of the receipt of each manuscript, however, will be sent from this office.

4. No more than three poems from the same author will be admitted to the contest.

5. No restriction is placed upon the subject or form of poems submitted, which may be in any meter or in free verse. It will be impossible, however, to consider poems which are more than 400 lines in length, or which are translations, or which are in any language other than English. Poems arranged in a definite sequence may, if the author so desires, be counted as a single poem.

6. The winning poem will be published in the Midwinter Literary Supplement of *The Nation*, to appear February 8, 1922.

7. Besides the winning poem, *The Nation* reserves the right to purchase at its usual rates any other poem submitted in the contest.

The judges of the contest are the editors of *The Nation*. Poems should in no case be sent to them personally.

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International Relations Section

More Dispatches on Haiti

THE documents printed in *The Nation* for November 9 under the title The Rape of Haiti carried the story of Haiti's subjection to American control up to September 8, 1915, when Admiral Caperton, in command of the American forces in Haitian waters, stated that by the use of "military pressure at propitious moments" he had almost succeeded in forcing the acceptance of the treaty terms demanded by the United States. The following documents, also taken from the United States Navy's dispatch book and submitted to the Senate Committee, reveal the methods used by the Occupation and the Navy and State Departments to gain control of Haiti's revenues, to force the ratification of the treaty, and to dissolve the Haitian Assembly.

Handling Haiti's Money

The control of Haitian funds by the American Occupation is brought out in the following dispatches printed here in the form in which they appeared in the Navy dispatch book, except for the italics which are ours:

Admiral Caperton to Secretary of the Navy, September 29.

As the Haitian Government does not wish to enter into any joint agreement with bank regarding issue five hundred thousand gourdes no such plan can be accepted. At the same time the Government claims to be seriously embarrassed, having counted definitely on using the bills now withheld by me. Need for immediate funds seems to be real. If the State Department does not intend to release bills without condition nor provide loan prior to ratification of treaty, am I authorized to furnish Haitian Government such funds as can be spared from customs receipts? 22229. Caperton.

Secretary Daniels to Admiral Caperton, October 2.

22229. State Department wishes fully set forth in dispatch today to Charge d'Affaires, Mr. Davis. You will be guided accordingly and will not advance money in any way at variance with State Department wishes or policies. 14002. Daniels.

Admiral Caperton to Secretary Daniels, October 3.

Charge consulted with me before sending his telegram of today, and in view of all the facts as they appear here I approve request and consider Haitian Government should have immediate financial assistance. Will report more fully tomorrow and will submit estimate of receipts and expenditures. 21303. Caperton.

Charge d'Affaires Davis to State Department, October 3.

Confidential, urgent, October 3, 5 p. m. This morning at 10 and before receipt yours October 2, 5 p. m., I had an interview personally with the President at his request. He stated that he had asked for this interview in order to ascertain what steps he could take under existing conditions; that the Haitian Government, following its plan to pay back salaries and thereby strengthen its position before the people and relieve suffering, now finds itself entirely without funds, and inquired as to the disposition of the United States Government to assist them in this financial crisis. I told him that I expected instructions as to that matter and that I would advise on receipt thereof.

After receiving yours, October [2], 5 p. m. I told the President that as before stated funds would be immediately available upon ratification of the treaty. The President seemed utterly discouraged and pointed out once more that the delay was not due to any lack of effort by him or his Cabinet, that withholding of funds only gave another weapon to the opposition and that if the United States Government persist in withholding all funds ratification becomes so difficult that he and his Cabinet will resign rather than attempt this fight in the Senate under this handicap. I fear that I failed in my previous reports to make perfectly understood the existing situation which is as follows. [The ratification procedure is here explained.] Therefore ratification cannot be expected before the latter part of next week.

The President and Cabinet are using every possible effort to secure ratification and seem confident of securing same if not embarrassed financially. The Haitian Government realizes that such ratification is absolutely necessary for the welfare of Haiti. Opposition in the Senate is strong due to the fact that many Senators are unscrupulous politicians or fanatics and wish either to embarrass the United States by non-ratification or to overthrow the present administration hoping to secure personal gain thereby. Pressure is also being brought to bear by outside interests which desire a continuance of past conditions for reasons of financial gain and which will be glad to see the present administration which is already reorganized and supported by the United States forced to resign.

It is important that the present administration remain in power as it is believed that one more favorable to the United States could not be obtained and in view of all the facts as they appear here that a military government would probably have to be established should this government fall.

Inasmuch as it is necessary to secure a treaty ratified before any definite financial plan can be formulated or permanent peace and prosperity assured in Haiti it would seem advisable to support and maintain the present administration. . . . Although funds collected from customs have been expended for the first two purposes named in the Department's instructions as to use of money collected, not one cent has been turned over to the Haitian Government for living expenses, which expenses have been met by use of gourdes then on hand and not expended. In view of the importance and extreme urgency of the case it is recommended that Admiral Caperton be instructed to turn over needed sums out of customs receipts not necessary for the customs service, constabulary, and public works. Request earliest possible decision and reply. Davis.

Navy Department to Admiral Caperton, October 3.

State Department informed National Bank of Haiti cannot purchase coffee draft on Paris now discounted at 12 per cent because you have made no remittance of custom receipts from duty pledged to service of foreign loans of 1825, 1896, and 1910. State Department desires to furnish bank with funds to purchase draft on Paris to give confidence to bondholders of foreign debt and to facilitate coffee export thereby increasing customs receipts. In this connection you are informed active organizing constabulary will be commenced immediately modus vivendi is entered into. Plan under consideration contemplates annual appropriation about $500,000; provision should be made for appropriation to meet initial expenditure for organization. In view of above is it possible to pay to bank any part of duty now collected by you, pledged to service of foreign loans above mentioned, without substantially affecting expenditure constabulary, public works, etc., or curtail weekly advance to Haitian Government. 16030. Benson, Acting [Secretary].

Admiral Caperton to Secretary of the Navy, November 1.

16030 Plan recommended in my 23027 is designed to correct high exchange rate and facilitate movement of coffee. It is possibly advisable to pay bank part of duty collected but impossible to guarantee sufficient funds in excess of all needs to meet service of foreign loans; if excess funds are transferred to New York by purchase of drafts as I suggested they will be later available for such service. This plan suits bank. Very few transactions in Paris exchange possible, everything financed through New York. Consider this matter urgent. 20101. Caperton.

On November 2, the Secretary of the Navy advised Admiral Caperton that the State Department was endeavoring

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to arrive at satisfactory arrangements with a New York representative of the National Bank of Haiti to meet the financial situation in Haiti.

Making a Majority

On November 8 Admiral Caperton communicated to a subordinate officer the following message revealing the part the Navy played in securing a majority for ratification in the vote on the treaty.

Expect Senate will vote on treaty Thursday. Absolutely essential all possible votes for ratification be secured. Haitian Government urgently requests Antoine Francois, Cape Haitien, who will be elected to fill vacancy be sent Port-au-Prince. Direct Hector proceed November 9th to Port-au-Prince with Antoine Francois as soon as he comes aboard. Acknowledge. 221508. Caperton.

The following day, two days before the vote on the treaty, Admiral Caperton dispatched a message to the Secretary of the Navy in which, after discussing the chances of ratification by the legislative chambers, he continued:

Dartiguenave Government stands ready in case treaty fails ratification to issue decree dissolving chambers. Will immediately order elections for constituent assembly which will ratify treaty, also make needed changes in constitution. Election occur in month. Dartiguenave Government requests information if this proposed action meets approval of United States. I recommend approval and instructions to support Dartiguenave Government which is only hope for peace and prosperity in Haiti. This in accordance State Department's telegram September 27 to Legation, and in accord with real interests all Haitians. . . . Instructions requested, please rtsg. 23109. Caperton.

"On Your Own Authority State . . ."

The following astonishing message from Secretary Daniels to Admiral Caperton was sent on November 10.

23109. Arrange with President Dartiguenave that he call a Cabinet meeting before the session of Senate which will pass upon ratification of treaty and request that you be permitted to appear before that meeting to make a statement to President and to members of Cabinet. On your own authority state the following before these officers: "I have the honor to inform the President of Haiti and the members of his Cabinet that I am personally gratified that public sentiment continues favorable to the treaty, that there is a strong demand from all classes for immediate ratification, and that the treaty will be ratified Thursday. I am sure that you gentlemen will understand my sentiment in this matter and I am confident that *if the treaty fails of ratification my Government has the intention to retain control in Haiti until the desired end is accomplished* and that it will forthwith proceed to the complete pacification of Haiti so as to insure internal tranquillity necessary to such development of the country and its industry as will afford relief to the starving populace now unemployed. Meanwhile the present Government will be supported in the effort to secure stable conditions and lasting peace in Haiti whereas those offering opposition can only expect such treatment as their conduct merits.

"The United States Government is particularly anxious for immediate ratification by the present Senate of this treaty, which was drawn up with the full intention of employing as many Haitians as possible to aid in giving effect to its provisions, so that suffering may be relieved at the earliest possible date.

"Rumors of bribery to defeat the treaty are rife but are not believed. However, should they prove true those who accept or give bribes will be vigorously prosecuted."

Confidential. *It is expected that you will be able to make this sufficiently clear to remove all opposition and to secure immediate ratification.* Acknowledge. 22010. Daniels.

The reply, sent on November 11, follows. The rejoicing noted in the message seems hardly to coincide with the state of mind of the Haitian public previously reported.

Carried out instructions in Department's 22010 this forenoon. Treaty ratified by Senate by vote 26 to 7 at 6 p. m. today. General rejoicing among populace. 22111. Caperton.

Some of the euphemisms of modern imperialism appear in the following message from Admiral Caperton to the Secretary of the Navy, sent on December 6, nearly two months after the ratification of the treaty.

Commission has now sailed for U. S. Urgently recommend loan of $1,500,000 be made immediately as previously recommended in my 231229. Haitian Government has inherited months of unpaid debt and *has incurred expenses in educating country to realize necessity of ratifying treaty.* Salaries, debts, and obligations amounting to $500,000 must be paid before December 20, otherwise Government prestige will be lost among Haitians and serious conditions will result. Expect part of Cabinet will resign unless Government can meet its obligations by this date. Settlement of existing problem will be delayed and purpose of United States impeded under present conditions. Believe immediate favorable action on this recommendation vital and imperative. 22206. Caperton.

It will be obvious from the next message, dated January 14, 1916, from Admiral Caperton to Secretary Daniels, that the Government of Haiti had lost every semblance of authority, even its most elementary functions having been frankly usurped by the Government of the United States. The first part of the message is omitted.

. . . Upon receipt of the Department's radiogram No. 15031 the President of Haiti and members of his Cabinet were informed of the instructions contained therein, that no further funds would be turned over to the Government directly but that necessary payments would be made to the individuals concerned under the supervision of Rear Admiral Caperton or his representative. This information caused great dissatisfaction among the Haitian officials and their first reply was to the effect that such a method could not be accepted in view of the implied insult contained in the proposal. Various plans were suggested by the American authorities intended to soften or mitigate the implied insult, but in view of the fact that they all included the cardinal principle that the money should be placed in the hands of those to whom it was due, under the supervision above referred to, none were acceptable. Finally, however, the representatives of the Haitian Government agreed to turn over the entire administration of the payment of salaries to Rear Admiral Caperton and to lend their assistance in furnishing a list of employees to whom payments were due.

No "Foreigners" Allowed

An extract from a memorandum of the Navy Department throws light on the nature of American control.

[On February 4, 1916] Rear Admiral Caperton informed the Secretary [of the Navy] that a large number of claims against the Haitian Government would undoubtedly be presented by the foreign citizens in Haiti, but that the Haitian Government had no money to pay said claims and that no doubt for that reason they would be presented to the United States. On the same date Rear Admiral Caperton informed the Department that a certain foreign company "Pierson" was in a fair way to secure exclusive mining and petroleum rights in Haiti and asked to be advised concerning what action the Haitian Government should take in the premises. In reply to this the Secretary informed Admiral Caperton on February 7, 1916, that such a monopolistic concession would be seriously prejudicial to the best interest of Haiti and against the interests of the United States, and that it would also be contrary to the spirit of the recent treaty, and to that end requested that the Haitian Government be strongly advised against granting any such concession (19007, Daniels). In reply to this the Secretary was informed that the Haitian Government had refused to grant the monopolistic concession requested by the Pierson Company.

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Throwing Out the Legislature

The final act of official, authorized violence against the Haitian Government—following the landing of troops, the seizure of custom houses, and the constant menace of other military action—was the forcible dissolution of the Haitian legislature in April and May, 1916. The threat of dissolution had already been made, but since both chambers had actually ratified the treaty with all its supplementary provisions, the legislature was until April 5 still nominally the organ of government. On that date, however, President Dartiguenave issued a decree dissolving the legislative chambers. This raised a storm of opposition in the country; the Senators and Deputies refused to consider the chambers dissolved, claiming that the decree was unconstitutional. President Dartiguenave locked the doors and the members were compelled to meet elsewhere. At the same time the President appointed a council of state of 21 members to work with the Government in preparing changes in laws for submission to the constituent assembly. He further decreed that the chamber would be convoked as a constituent assembly to revise the constitution in accordance with the treaty. Admiral Caperton kept the Navy Department fully advised of developments by frequent messages and himself took a considerable hand in endeavoring to reconcile the Government and the opposition. But apparently his efforts were without success. He said in one message, of April 26, 1916, that the President justified his actions by the necessity of obtaining a prompt and complete revision of the constitution in order that it might agree with the treaty of September, 1915, and for other reasons, and that the opposition, although agreeing that the constitution should be changed so as to meet the conditions named by the Government, maintained that the method employed to bring this about was unconstitutional and that all these changes could be made at the next Congress which would be elected in January, 1917, and convene in April. In a subsequent message of May 4 Admiral Caperton said to the Navy Department, ". . . I consider it necessary and recommend that decree be given prompt support in order to support Dartiguenave and insure early completion necessary constitutional reforms. . . ." On May 6 Admiral Caperton met the bureau of both chambers and informed them that the decree of April 5 was in full force and that their meetings disturbed the peace and should be stopped. In reply to this the chambers stated that they would hold no more meetings. (23006 Caperton.) In this connection it should be noted that in none of the Admiral's messages of this period as reproduced in the Navy Department's exhaustive memorandum nor in the paraphrasing of many of these messages, also contained in this memorandum, is there any hint of actual disturbance of the peace on the part of Haitians.

Brigade Commander Butler reported on June 14, 1917, that the Committee of the National Assembly, which had been in session over the proposed changes in the constitution, had rejected by a vote of 28 to 8 the proposed article granting to foreigners the right to acquire and to hold land. The Secretary of the Navy informed Admiral Pond on June 15 that every endeavor must be exerted by the Brigade Commander to prevent the passage of the constitution containing provisions discriminating against foreigners, although such discrimination applied equally to all aliens. On June 16 the Brigade Commander reported that he had received a message from the President the day before requesting information whether or not he should refuse to accept the new constitution, and, if not, as to the advisability of referring it to a general election, together with the draft prepared by the Secretary of State, amended in accordance with "our suggestion." On the same day the Brigade Commander informed the Navy Department that nothing short of dissolving the National Assembly would prevent the passage of the constitution along the general lines previously reported, which was due to the antagonism of the National Assembly to American influence and to foreigners owning land. On June 19 the Brigade Commander informed the Department that he would prevent the passage of the new constitution if necessary by dissolving the National Assembly, unless he received instructions to the contrary. This would be done, if possible, through the President, otherwise by himself. (15418.) In reply to this the Secretary of the Navy informed the Brigade Commander that the Haitian Government would receive a message from the State Department regarding this matter and advising him that he was vested with full discretionary powers by the Department, but requesting that he endeavor to avoid the use of the military force. On June 20 the President informed the National Assembly that it was necessary to adopt a constitution in accordance with the recommendations of the United States. By omitting some articles the National Assembly attempted to pass the proposed constitution, "which made it necessary for the Brigade Commander to seize the records of the proceedings, and orders were given to prevent further proceedings. The Assembly was dissolved by decree of the President and the entrance to the chamber was placed under guard and the hall cleared (16319)." This was accomplished by the actual invasion of the hall by armed Marines who ordered the representatives out at the point of the gun. Later in June the President submitted to the Brigade Commander his proposal that a new constitution be submitted to the Haitian people for a "yes" or "no" vote and with it a memorandum outlining the proposed new constitution. (17325.)

On June 22 the United States Administrator of Customs, Charles Conard, sent a letter to the "Expeditionary Commander" in which he pointed out the practice then prevailing on the part of the Haitian Government of making payments from funds derived from sources other than the customs on salary claims previously presented to the Administrator of Customs and rejected by him. Such claims were known as "discounted feuilles." He pointed out that "the system of only partial control of the Haitian finances is unsatisfactory. The margin of funds not controlled by the Occupation seems to be nearly sufficient for the Haitian Government to make such expenditures as it deems advisable which the Occupation refuses to make, and the purpose of the control is almost entirely defeated." This letter was forwarded by Colonel Waller to Admiral Caperton on June 23 with the comment that "Articles 2 and 4 of the treaty could and should be interpreted to mean entire control of the revenue of Haiti." This was in turn forwarded over the signature of Secretary Daniels to the Secretary of State under date of August 10, 1916, with the comment that it might be of interest to the Financial Adviser and Receiver-General of Customs. To this the office of the Secretary of State replied on August 21 that this correspondence had been forwarded to the Charge d'Affaires at Port au Prince for transmission to the Financial Adviser and the Receiver-General of Customs.

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The Haitian President to *The Nation*

THE article and documents regarding Haiti which were printed in *The Nation* for November 9, 1921, were widely reprinted in Haiti, and caused the liveliest comment. The President of the Republic of Haiti, M. Sudré Dartiguenave, felt called upon to reply through *Le Nouvelliste*, of Port-au-Prince, a newspaper which had been very sympathetic to him and as sympathetic as any of the Haitian newspapers to the American Occupation. The text of this letter, as published in *Le Nouvelliste* of November 22, follows:

TO THE PUBLISHER OF LE NOUVELLISTE:

Most of the newspapers of the capital have begun to publish a series of documents relating to Haiti taken from the secret dispatch book of the American Navy and of a long article in *The Nation* of November 9, commenting on these documents. These dispatches, exchanged between Mr. Daniels, United States Secretary of the Navy at the time of the intervention, and Rear Admiral Caperton, have deeply stirred Haitian opinion, which was justly struck by certain promises alleged to have been made by me before my election as President of the republic.

I am convinced that my compatriots have already properly judged the allegations contained in these dispatches and in the article in *The Nation*. It has become banal to accuse others in order to defend oneself. I should have refrained from protesting publicly against what I consider a serious injury if my person alone were involved. But, representing a people which is weak but worthy of respect, it is my duty to reply to calumnies which, involving me, involve the Haitians, and to cast light upon questions which so deeply concern the dignity of the nation.

You will perhaps permit me to use your columns to inform my people:

1. I note in these documents the statement that Rear Admiral Caperton found in me a candidate who agreed in advance to accept all the proposals of the United States, and that I even went beyond these proposals and offered to cede Mole St. Nicholas.

2. I note in the article in *The Nation* that American forces were used in Haiti to obtain the election of a "marionette" President who would act according to their orders.

In answer to the first allegation it is sufficient to affirm that I never saw or met Rear Admiral Caperton until after signature of the Convention of September 16, 1915. The candidate of the legislative body, I was bound by no engagements; I only knew that the Government of the United States would present a treaty for the approval of the Government and of the people of Haiti. I could not, frankly, have expected the vexatious means which were employed against my Government to trick it into consent and to take advantage of its good faith. The public, it seems, is only just learning that the alternative to acceptance of this convention was an end of national autonomy, the disappearance of our flag, and a military governor. I knew it then, and between the supreme sacrifice of my country and my own sacrifice I chose the latter and accepted the convention, trusting to the wisdom and good sense of my countrymen and to the judgment of history.

Doubtless the difficulties of my Government after acceptance of that convention have not been forgotten. Every day there were new demands and new encroachments; the convention did not hold even for those charged with its execution.

I have sad memories of my relations with the colonel in charge of the Occupation and with Colonel Butler, in charge of the gendarmerie. Supported by political parties which they themselves had helped create, and by isolated politicians whose ambitions they encouraged, and judging by the naivete or unscrupulousness of a few people that the country was ripe for

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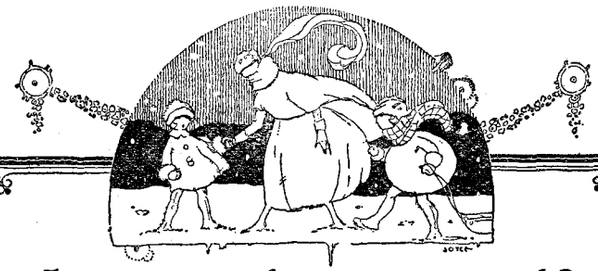

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annexation, these two officers had recourse to the strangest means to induce me to cede my place to them. If I had been a "marionette," as the author of the article in *The Nation* lightly suggests, or if I had been the man sought by the American Government; if I had not put the interests of my country above those of the consortium which urges the United States to intervene in the affairs of the weak peoples of this hemisphere in order to find fertile fields for its capital, would I have been exposed to these attempts and suffered these affronts of which the revelations of Rear Admiral Caperton give but a feeble idea? Happy the Haitian who was not in my place from my election as President up to the vote of the constitution! . . .

I shall not conclude without saying a word about the corvée. In his deposition before the Senatorial Commission as published in the New York *Times*, General Williams affirmed, so I am told, that I authorized the corvée. I am dumfounded by this other allegation.

It is not unknown that at the beginning of the Occupation workers on the public roads were paid and volunteered their services. But gradually this work degenerated into a corvée, and even into forced labor, and contrary to the terms of the rural code the peasants were seized by the military and sent far from their homes to repair the roads. The Government, upon being informed of these illegal performances by the complaints of those interested and by the reports of its provincial agents, protested vigorously to Generals Waller, Butler, Cole, and Williams. But its protests had no answer. A law regulating the corvée was then drawn up and laid before the Council of State. While it was under consideration the United States Minister informed the Government that if the draft of this law was not communicated to him his Government would pay no attention to it. It was communicated to him, and from that day to this it has been reposing in the archives of the American Legation.

It was while I was convalescing at Petion that I wrote a last time to General Williams informing him that according to reports which I had received, if he did not suspend the corvée as it was then practiced there would be an uprising in the North. The general immediately came to see me to inform me that he was leaving in three days for the North and that upon his return he would promise to end the corvée. Nevertheless the corvée continued until the Caco uprising.

Similarly it was in order to keep the Government from being informed of what went on in the provincial cities that they always refused to carry out the law creating prefects of the arrondissements. . . .

If before leaving power it is given to me to aid in a renovation of Haitian spirit I shall consider myself rewarded for all my efforts and for all the injuries which I have swallowed.

With my thanks for the hospitality of your columns, I am, sir,

Port-au-Prince, November 20, 1921 DARTIGUENAVE

NOTE BY THE EDITOR OF LE NOUVELLISTE: We publish this letter from His Excellency the Mr. Sudré Dartiguenave with the greatest deference. Yet it is our humble opinion that the President of the Republic should have abstained from any reply which might be in the nature of a polemic. Furthermore, *The Nation* merely reproduced passages from Admiral Caperton's depositions. These depositions should be read in full in order to know all.

It should be noted in connection with President Dartiguenave's denial that he had met Admiral Caperton prior to his election, and his implication that he could therefore have made him no promises and that Admiral Caperton's statement to that effect must be false, that the Admiral stated in his dispatches that Captain Beach "conducted my negotiations on shore." M. Dartiguenave does not deny conversations with Captain Beach. His direct contradiction of General Williams's testimony clearly calls for more light on the corvée.

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